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UNDEVELOPED RESOURCES OF THE SOUTHERN STATE

RETROSPECTIVE NOTES.

In order to exhibit accurately the present condition and undeveloped resources of the Southern group of States, and correctly forecast their material development and destiny, it will be necessary to trace briefly some of the more prominent characteristics in their past history.

Up to the commencement of the war for the perpetuation of the slave power, and on to the date of the emancipation act, the development of the States south of Mason and Dixon's line depended mainly—some of them almost wholly—on slave labor. All improvement was the result of slave muscle, guided by the brain and dictation of the owner of the human chattel or his overseer. Material progress was necessarily slow. No poor man or even individuals in ordinary circumstances could become owners of a plantation; or, if the land could be purchased, an insuperable barrier to its successful cultivation immediately presented itself in the impossibility to stock it with the necessary number of slaves, costing an average of a thousand dollars per head. Ownership of the soil was therefore confined mainly to the few capitalists, while the balance of the white population, deprived of the stimulus of a laudable ambition, sank into hopeless poverty, accompanied with abject ignorance and excessive pride. The planter, on the other hand, though almost always in debt, reveled in luxury. Owner, as

he was, of a thousand or more acres and a hundred slaves, he was monarch of all he surveyed, and his will was supreme. Naturally an aristocratic sentiment filled his mind, and he felt that he was in reality a lord, or something of more importance, elevated high above the plane of ordinary American citizens. We are not disposed to censure him for this. His views were the inevitable result of ownership in human blood and muscle, and we must condemn the system rather than the individual. But plantation ambition and dictation never stop here. The aristocratic planter's imaginary elevation and the exercise of supreme authority upon his own plantation lead imperceptibly to contempt for ordinary mortals. In short, his will can brook no opposition, and advancing step by step, arrogance demands that the laws of his country shall conform to his wishes in all respects, and failing in this the Government itself becomes an object of contempt and hatred by himself and his peers. With this feeling once implanted in the mind, an implacable opposition follows. By the aid of a few fiery spirits, adventurers with nothing to lose, meetings are convened and State secession is proposed and carried, without regard to consequences or final issues. The Government now asserts its supremacy, and its opponents are discomfited and compelled to retire from the contest wiser if not better citizens. Fragmentary manifestations of hatred

toward the victors lingers in the breasts of a few unreasonable spirits, only to become a source of annoyance to peaceably disposed citizens, and prevent that harmony and concert of action in communities which are absolutely essential to the successful development of the neglected resources of the State.

This has been the experience of the people of the States under consideration. It is the legitimate fruit of the slave policy and practice, the history of which has been the same in every age and in all countries where it has existed to any considerable extent. Our own case is not therefore an exceptional one, and, as has been remarked, the evil is not so much in the individual as in the system.

SLAVERY IN THE NORTH.

It may not have been forgotten that slavery, at an earlier period in our history, existed in many of the Northern States; but there it died out or was abolished, under a popular conviction that it was wrong, strengthened by an experience that led to the knowledge that, compared with free labor, it was unproductive and expensive.

The following is an official statement of the total free colored population, and also of the number of slaves owned in each State in 1790:

Total Colored Population in the United States in 1790.

| States. | Free. | Slaves. |
|---------------------|--------|---------|
| Connecticut..... | 2,808 | 2,764 |
| Delaware..... | 3,839 | 8,887 |
| Georgia..... | 398 | 20,264 |
| Kentucky..... | 114 | 12,430 |
| Maine..... | 538 | ..... |
| Maryland..... | 8,043 | 103,036 |
| Massachusetts..... | 5,463 | ..... |
| New Hampshire..... | 630 | 158 |
| New Jersey..... | 2,762 | 11,423 |
| New York..... | 4,654 | 21,324 |
| North Carolina..... | 4,975 | 100,572 |
| Pennsylvania..... | 6,537 | 8,737 |
| Rhode Island..... | 3,407 | 948 |
| South Carolina..... | 1,801 | 107,094 |
| Tennessee..... | 361 | 3,417 |
| Vermont..... | 271 | ..... |
| Virginia..... | 12,866 | 292,627 |
| Total..... | 59,527 | 697,681 |

Of the 697,681 slaves then in the coun-

try, over forty thousand (40,354) were owned in the Eastern and Middle States, a remnant of whom were reported as still in bondage in New Jersey as late as 1860.

SLAVERY IN THE SOUTH.

In the Southern States slave labor was considered more profitable than free labor, and the traffic in human chattels increased in extent and importance. Without going into an argument here on the subject, we will state freely that, aside from the question of morality, we have always held this conclusion to have been a serious error of experience and judgment, fatal alike to the development and the general prosperity of those States in which slave labor was retained. But our good neighbors south of Mason and Dixon's line viewed the subject in a different light; and while the institution was condemned and gradually abolished in the North, it was indorsed and increased rapidly in the South.

In order to enable the reader to see at a glance this decrease in one section of the country and growth in another, we have compiled from official data and present on the next page a complete statement of the slave and free colored population in the United States from 1790 to 1870—the latter date, owing to the emancipation act of Congress, presenting the entire colored population as free citizens.

COMPARATIVE PROGRESS OF STATES UNDER SLAVE AND FREE LABOR.

We have stated that in a pecuniary point of view the retention of slave in preference to free labor was a mistake. A few facts will be presented here as bearing on that point, and the question will then be left with the intelligent reader to decide according to his own judgment.

Take the original thirteen States and note their comparative progress as an illustration. With Pennsylvania as the Keystone, we have on one side of the arch six slave States, and on the other as many States that abandoned slave for free labor. Each of these States started under the Union on about equally fa-

| States & Territories, | 1870. | 1860. | 1850. | 1840. | 1830. | 1820. | 1810. | 1800. | 1790. |
|-----------------------|-----------|-----------|----------|-----------|---------|-----------|---------|-----------|-----------|
| All free. | Slave. | Ftee. | Slave. | Ftee. | Slave. | Ftee. | Slave. | Ftee. | Slave. |
| Alabama..... | 475,510 | 435,080 | 342,844 | 2,265 | 253,532 | 1,572 | 41,879 | 571 | 571 |
| Arkansas..... | 122,119 | 111,115 | 144 | 47,100 | 19,355 | 4,576 | 1,617 | 69 | 69 |
| California..... | 4,272 | 4,086 | 8,627 | 7,633 | 2,605 | 8,105 | 25 | 97 | 97 |
| Connecticut | 9,668 | 1,794 | 18,820 | 2,290 | 18,073 | 2,605 | 15,855 | 4,500 | 12,358 |
| Delaware..... | 22,734 | 17,789 | 30,310 | 932 | 25,723 | 15,501 | 844 | 1,177 | 13,136 |
| Florida..... | 61,745 | 982 | 384,1682 | 5,500 | 280,944 | 2,753 | 217,331 | 9,468 | 1,763 |
| Georgia..... | 145,142 | 462,198 | 7,628 | 5,436 | 331 | 3,688 | 747 | 1,637 | 917 |
| Illinois..... | 58,762 | 11,428 | 11,392 | 7 | 11,165 | 3 | 3,620 | 140 | 1,230 |
| Indiana..... | 24,569 | 1,660 | 335 | 16 | 172 | 16 | 237 | 383 | 135 |
| Kansas..... | 17,108 | 1,252 | 1,064 | 210,981 | 10,011 | 462,238 | 5,317 | 1,357 | 1,329 |
| Kentucky..... | 22,210 | 225,463 | 18,684 | 17,462 | 188,452 | 25,355 | 169,388 | 10,746 | 10,746 |
| Louisiana..... | 34,210 | 331,726 | 18,647 | 244,809 | 17,462 | 1,355 | 1,191 | 10,746 | 10,746 |
| Maine..... | 1,606 | 1,327 | 1,327 | 1,327 | 1,327 | 1,327 | 1,327 | 1,327 | 1,327 |
| Maryland..... | 175,391 | 87,189 | 83,942 | 90,308 | 73,723 | 89,737 | 62,078 | 107,387 | 89,730 |
| Massachusetts..... | 13,947 | 9,602 | 9,602 | 9,602 | 9,602 | 9,602 | 9,602 | 9,602 | 9,602 |
| Michigan..... | 11,849 | 6,739 | 6,739 | 6,739 | 6,739 | 6,739 | 6,739 | 6,739 | 6,739 |
| Minnesota..... | 759 | 259 | 259 | 259 | 259 | 259 | 259 | 259 | 259 |
| Mississippi..... | 44,261 | 436,631 | 773 | 206,878 | 930 | 165,211 | 1,366 | 105,059 | 519 |
| Missouri..... | 11,071 | 3,572 | 87,422 | 58,240 | 2,618 | 1,374 | 25,091 | 569 | 32,814 |
| Nebraska..... | 789 | 15 | 67 | 67 | 67 | 67 | 67 | 67 | 67 |
| Nevada..... | 357 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 | 45 |
| N. Hampshire..... | 580 | 18 | 494 | 236 | 23,810 | 674 | 1,357 | 2,254 | 1,357 |
| New Jersey..... | 31,658 | 18 | 49,005 | 36,465 | 40,063 | 4,501 | 50,987 | 41,876 | 18,033 |
| New York..... | 52,181 | 394,656 | 36,673 | 288,548 | 27,453 | 245,817 | 75 | 12,557 | 756 |
| N. Carolina..... | 391,650 | 391,650 | 391,650 | 391,650 | 391,650 | 391,650 | 391,650 | 391,650 | 391,650 |
| Ohio..... | 316 | 207 | 207 | 207 | 207 | 207 | 207 | 207 | 207 |
| Oregon..... | 316 | 207 | 207 | 207 | 207 | 207 | 207 | 207 | 207 |
| Pennsylvania..... | 65,214 | 56,949 | 56,949 | 56,949 | 56,949 | 56,949 | 56,949 | 56,949 | 56,949 |
| Rhode Island..... | 4,880 | 4,066 | 4,066 | 4,066 | 4,066 | 4,066 | 4,066 | 4,066 | 4,066 |
| S. Carolina..... | 415,814 | 402,466 | 9,914 | 384,984 | 8,670 | 327,088 | 3,276 | 315,461 | 7,921 |
| Tennessee..... | 322,371 | 275,719 | 7,301 | 275,719 | 275,719 | 275,719 | 275,719 | 275,719 | 275,719 |
| Texas..... | 255,475 | 182,566 | 355 | 182,566 | 182,566 | 182,566 | 182,566 | 182,566 | 182,566 |
| Vermont..... | 52,924 | 490,855 | 58,042 | 472,528 | 54,333 | 448,987 | 49,812 | 463,757 | 47,348 |
| Virginia..... | 17,940 | 11,131 | 3,687 | 10,639 | 4,694 | 8,391 | 6,113 | 6,113 | 6,113 |
| West Virginia..... | 2,113 | 1,471 | 1,471 | 1,471 | 1,471 | 1,471 | 1,471 | 1,471 | 1,471 |
| Wisconsin..... | 29 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 |
| Arizona..... | 456 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 | 46 |
| Dakota..... | 94 | 165 | 165 | 165 | 165 | 165 | 165 | 165 | 165 |
| Dist. of Col..... | 43,404 | 3,165 | 1,042 | 3,294,313 | 454,485 | 2,487,355 | 386,293 | 2,001,043 | 30,560 |
| Idaho & Monta..... | 243 | 85 | 85 | 85 | 85 | 85 | 85 | 85 | 85 |
| New Mexico..... | 172 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 |
| U. S. Capital..... | 118 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 | 29 |
| Washington..... | 217 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 | 30 |
| Wyoming..... | 183 | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... | ..... |
| Total..... | 4,889,060 | 3,453,760 | 488,470 | 3,294,313 | 454,485 | 2,487,355 | 386,293 | 2,001,043 | 30,560 |
| | | | | | | | | | 1,938,022 |
| | | | | | | | | | 186,446 |
| | | | | | | | | | 893,002 |
| | | | | | | | | | 108,435 |
| | | | | | | | | | 697,681 |
| | | | | | | | | | 50,527 |

vable conditions, the six Southern States having the advantage, perhaps on account of superiority of soil and climate. What is the result? Of the total area of the six States south of the Keystone, only about ten per cent. is under cultivation. The staple article is cotton, yet careful estimates have established the fact that not seven per cent. of the cotton area has ever at any one time been under a crop. In the six original States north of Pennsylvania, all but about ten per cent. of the soil is under cultivation, or occupied as the sites of cities, towns, and manufacturing villages. The bursting of a reservoir in Massachusetts or Connecticut can scarcely fail to sweep away two or three manufacturing towns; a similar accident in any one of the six original States south of Pennsylvania could scarcely be followed by a similar catastrophe, even if the flood washed the largest portion of each State.

Virginia was settled about thirty years prior to Connecticut, yet the former is without factories beyond a few tobacco establishments and flouring mills. The area of Connecticut is 4,750 square miles, Virginia 38,352 square miles, or as 8 to 1; yet the "true value" of all the property in Virginia, real and personal, by the census of 1870, with eight times the area of Connecticut, is a fraction over three hundred and sixty-four million dollars, while that of Connecticut exceeded four hundred and twenty-five million dollars. The per cent. of illiterates, 10 years and over, to total population of same age, is less in Connecticut than 7 per cent., (6.95) while in Virginia it is over 50 per cent., (50.10.)

Georgia, 58,000 square miles, Massachusetts 7,800. The total true wealth of the latter State is, in the exact figures of the last census, \$1,591,983,112, while that of Georgia is \$227,219,519; that is to say, Georgia has seven times the area of Massachusetts, and Massachusetts has seven times the wealth of Georgia. Massachusetts devotes annually twenty dollars per head for the education of its

population of school age; Georgia provides only sixty-eight cents per head for the same purpose.

North Carolina has an area of 50,7 square miles; Rhode Island claims only 1,306 square miles, but then the census rates the true value of Rhode Island at \$244,278.854, while North Carolina, with nearly fifty times the extent of area, all counted in, is worth only \$130,378,622.

And so we might go on making comparisons, but it is not necessary, as the facts are patent to every intelligent traveler who has personally passed over the free and the recently slave States, or who has examined the statistics of the products and wealth of States as given in the census of 1870. But this disparity is not confined to the six free and six slave States named. Compare any portion of the Union where slavery existed with any part where it was unknown, and the result in the main will be found to be the same. The vast and fertile State of Mississippi, which ought to be one of the richest States in the Union, is worth only \$177,278,800, real and personal property all counted, while Pennsylvania in the same official return is reported good for \$1,313,236,042. Mississippi has four and a half million dollars invested in manufactures, while Pennsylvania's investment of capital in manufacturing industries is over four hundred and six million dollars. Florida has one and a half million dollars invested in manufacturing, and Vermont has over twenty million dollars so employed. The per cent. of illiterates in Florida 10 years and over, to total population of same age, is over fifty-four per cent., (54.76,) and in Vermont less than seven per cent., (6.84;) and this is about a fair average of the illiteracy in the South as compared with that of the North. Of course, the institution of slavery has contributed largely to make this difference; so also has it contributed to cause the vast difference in manufactures, general development, and wealth. But slave labor, as we have shown, was a matter of choice, and where accepted

and followed it has invariably resulted in causing this disparity in the development and wealth of the two sections of the Union. It has always been a blight in the localities where it existed, and a dead weight and disgrace to the nation.

COMPARATIVE PROGRESS SOUTH AND NORTH UNDER FREE LABOR.

If, as it is claimed, slavery retarded the material progress of the Southern States and dwarfed their development, up to the date of emancipation, as compared with that of the free States, why, it will naturally be asked, have not those two sections of the Union advanced with the same degree of rapidity since that period? It is true the objectionable element has been removed, and other things being equal, the progress throughout the Union should have been the same. But another element has intruded itself in the South, which, if possible, is a greater barrier to prosperity than even slavery itself. We refer to the cursed spirit of hatred of the colored race and of the dominant political party through whose instrumentality emancipation was secured. While many of the more prominent citizens of the South, and not a few of those who move in the humbler walks of life, have accepted the changed condition of the colored population, a very large proportion of the people in all the conquered States have failed to do so, and have acted since peace was restored more like demons than men. The colored population have yielded a willing obedience, as freemen, to their former masters, and have with rare exceptions shown a cheerful disposition to labor upon the plantations and in the workshops, as formerly, for very moderate pay. They were given by laws of Congress the right to vote and exercise their franchise as other men; but by intimidation, abuse, and murder, they are deprived by political aspirants of these constitutional endowments, and with white Republicans are shot down like dogs. Under this condition of affairs the pursuit of agriculture has become

unprofitable, and business of every kind is paralyzed.

We have prepared a statement (see Table on the following page) in which some of the results of this state of affairs are significantly indicated. While the figures opposite the names of the free States indicate unparalleled prosperity during the decade from 1860 to 1870, the opposite condition is shown by the figures against the names of the formerly slave but now free States. They had fewer acres of land under cultivation in 1870 than in 1860; their implements of husbandry—a certain criterion of thrift or decay—deteriorated fully fifty per cent. in value during the decade. The product of cotton had fallen off about thirty per cent.; the product of tobacco had diminished nearly twenty per cent., while its cultivation was increased largely in many of the Northern States.

But it may be suggested that other crops have taken the place of these great staple products of the South. Such, however, is not the fact. The product of both wheat and Indian corn shows nearly as great a falling off in 1870 from the product of 1860 as is seen in the articles of cotton and tobacco. Decay seems to be marked on every industry. How can it be otherwise, while certain classes in the communities are incessantly engaged in the pastime of shooting or hanging negroes and driving capitalists out of the country? An examination of the table in detail will more than confirm our statement that while the prosperity of the formerly free States during the last decade has been without a parallel in its extent, the formerly slave and still rebellious States have deteriorated in every branch of industry, and from no other cause than the one already indicated. The pages of *THE REPUBLIC* for September and October have fairly presented the condition of affairs in some of the Southern States, and until a radical change of sentiment and action toward the colored population and white Republican residents

UNDEVELOPED RESOURCES OF THE SOUTHERN STATES.

| States and Territories. | Land Improved—Acres. | | Farming implements—Value. | | Wheat—Bushels. | | Indian corn—Bushels eis. | | Cotton—Bales of 400 lbs. | | Rice—Pounds. | | Tobacco—Pounds. | |
|-------------------------|----------------------|------------|---------------------------|--------------|----------------|--------------|--------------------------|--------------|--------------------------|-------------|--------------|-------------|-----------------|-------------|
| | 1860. | 1870. | 1860. | 1870. | 1860. | 1870. | 1860. | 1870. | 1860. | 1870. | 1860. | 1870. | 1860. | 1870. |
| Alabama..... | 6,385,724 | 5,024,204 | \$7,432,178 | \$3,288,924 | 1,218,444 | 1,035,068 | 33,226,282 | 16,577,948 | 680,355 | 429,482 | 229,945 | 222,914 | 152,712 | 152,712 |
| Arizona..... | 1,983,312 | 1,850,821 | 4,175,326 | 2,247,439 | 957,601 | 7,735 | 17,820,988 | 1,382,145 | 32,(4) | 30,(3) | 247,(5) | 247,(5) | 561,865 | 561,865 |
| Arkansas..... | 2,408,634 | 6,213,133 | 5,8,5,506 | 5,316,630 | 5,925,470 | 5,6,5,708 | 1,221,229 | 55,0 | 231,993 | 2,140 | 1,214,0 | 1,214,0 | 8,328,768 | 8,328,768 |
| California..... | 1,557,504 | 1,610,752 | 27,622,634 | 27,622,634 | 288,474 | 2,050 | 825 | 1,570,394 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 | 10 |
| Colorado..... | 1,820,897 | 1,610,752 | 3,39,481 | 3,26,539 | 32,144 | 38,144 | 170,730 | 90,969 | 133,140 | 133,140 | 9,690 | 9,690 | 260 | 260 |
| Connecticut..... | 209,115 | 445,145 | 1,25,574 | 1,42,612 | 945 | 170,320 | 30,320 | 32,142 | 3,0,320 | 3,0,320 | 157,405 | 157,405 | 288,596 | 288,596 |
| Dakota..... | 637,052 | 638,135 | 817,882 | 817,882 | 912,941 | 865,477 | 3,89,420 | 8,89,420 | 8,89,420 | 8,89,420 | 101,687 | 101,687 | 225,318 | 225,318 |
| Delaware..... | 17,474 | 20,208 | 39,409 | 39,409 | 12,729 | 12,729 | 2,894,700 | 2,894,700 | 2,894,700 | 2,894,700 | 919,318 | 919,318 | 227,380 | 227,380 |
| District of Col..... | 634,213 | 736,172 | 900,678 | 4,614,700 | 565,674 | 500,700 | 20,776,233 | 17,127,617 | 17,127,617 | 17,127,617 | 701,840 | 473,934 | 52,507 | 52,507 |
| Georgia..... | 8,162,758 | 5,750,635 | 4,644,357 | 4,644,357 | 58,905 | 75,75 | 1,06,700 | 1,06,700 | 1,06,700 | 1,06,700 | 465 | 465 | 6,885,392 | 6,885,392 |
| Illinoi..... | 26,603 | 25,603 | 12,255,172 | 12,255,172 | 14,473,94 | 14,473,94 | 33,827,629 | 33,827,629 | 115,174,771 | 115,174,771 | 129,621,359 | 129,621,359 | 7,400,378 | 7,400,378 |
| Iowa..... | 2,128,189 | 10,144 | 10,475,807 | 10,475,807 | 16,563,501 | 16,563,501 | 1,43,320 | 1,43,320 | 42,410,925 | 42,410,925 | 61,935,528 | 61,935,528 | 3,3,168 | 3,3,168 |
| Indiana..... | 3,792,722 | 9,356,407 | 3,89,407 | 3,89,407 | 8,140,936 | 8,140,936 | 1,101,172 | 2 | 1,101,172 | 2 | 1,57,525 | 1,57,525 | 33,241 | 33,241 |
| Kansas..... | 1,065,468 | 1,071,003 | 727,694 | 4,653,312 | 5,729,694 | 5,729,694 | 1,228,545 | 1,228,545 | 64,043,632 | 64,043,632 | 50,691,606 | 50,691,606 | 105,395,829 | 105,395,829 |
| Kentucky..... | 7,611,208 | 8,173,850 | 7,474,573 | 7,474,573 | 5,391,805 | 5,391,805 | 5,728,745 | 5,728,745 | 1,060,732 | 1,060,732 | 6,331,257 | 6,331,257 | 15,141 | 15,141 |
| Louisiana..... | 2,707,168 | 2,165,640 | 6,148,625 | 7,450,332 | 7,450,332 | 5,32,590 | 5,32,590 | 1,54,607 | 1,54,607 | 1,080,888 | 1,080,888 | 38,410,965 | 38,410,965 | |
| Maine..... | 2,74,132 | 2,91,140 | 4,010,539 | 5,296,676 | 6,103,480 | 5,774 | 1,444,925 | 1,444,925 | 11,701,817 | 11,701,817 | 7,253,198 | 7,253,198 | 7,312,863 | 7,312,863 |
| Maryland..... | 3,002,207 | 2,12,736 | 3,21,321 | 3,89,407 | 9,018,500 | 9,018,500 | 113,783 | 113,783 | 34,648 | 34,648 | 1,397,807 | 1,397,807 | 121,069 | 121,069 |
| Massachusetts..... | 2,153,153 | 2,153,153 | 8,029,629 | 8,029,629 | 7,757 | 8,36,368 | 10,6,106 | 12,731 | 12,731 | 12,731 | 1,406,288 | 1,406,288 | 3,938,824 | 3,938,824 |
| Michigan..... | 3,471,296 | 5,23,322 | 10,2,102 | 10,1,183 | 6,721,120 | 2,186,963 | 18,753 | 2,186,963 | 18,753 | 2,186,963 | 15,637,182 | 15,637,182 | 12,320,488 | 12,320,488 |
| Minnesota..... | 5,656,736 | 5,656,736 | 8,826,146 | 8,826,146 | 5,667,925 | 5,667,925 | 2,74,473 | 2,74,473 | 20,661,507 | 20,661,507 | 564,4358 | 564,4358 | 25,086,196 | 25,086,196 |
| Pennsissippi..... | 5,095,736 | 5,095,736 | 8,826,146 | 8,826,146 | 4,456,633 | 4,456,633 | 2,74,473 | 2,74,473 | 2,74,473 | 2,74,473 | 9,767 | 9,767 | 600 | 600 |
| Missouri..... | 6,246,871 | 9,130,638 | 8,711,580 | 8,711,580 | 1,665,425 | 1,665,425 | 72,892,157 | 72,892,157 | 66,634,475 | 66,634,475 | 5,936 | 5,936 | 5,936 | 5,936 |
| Montana..... | 647,063 | 83,67 | 2,065,064 | 1,435,438 | 1,435,438 | 1,435,438 | 147,867 | 147,867 | 125,080 | 148,710 | 4,736,710 | 4,736,710 | 106 | 106 |
| Nevada..... | 118,780 | 947,924 | 6,625,625 | 5,625,625 | 1,431,716 | 1,431,716 | 1,431,716 | 1,431,716 | 1,414,628 | 1,414,628 | 1,277,708 | 1,277,708 | 146,185 | 146,185 |
| New Hampshire..... | 143,132 | 92,644 | 11,081 | 11,081 | 2,234,487 | 2,683,487 | 2,683,487 | 1,631,912 | 1,631,912 | 8,145,384 | 8,145,384 | 1,04,144 | 1,04,144 | |
| New Jersey..... | 1,944,441 | 1,767,917 | 5,746,367 | 5,746,367 | 7,887,901 | 1,1,301,438 | 301,438 | 70,304 | 640,823 | 640,823 | 5,704,582 | 5,704,582 | 2,349,798 | 2,349,798 |
| New Jersey..... | 14,358,403 | 15,127,917 | 1,143,007 | 192,191,114 | 1,143,007 | 1,143,007 | 12,1,144 | 12,1,144 | 2,461,497 | 2,461,497 | 311,507 | 311,507 | 11,150,087 | 11,150,087 |
| New York..... | 14,358,403 | 15,127,917 | 2,06,20,166 | 1,935,45,197 | 1,72,580,144 | 1,72,580,144 | 1,4,227,580 | 1,4,227,580 | 18,454,215 | 18,454,215 | 145,514 | 145,514 | 16,141,473 | 16,141,473 |
| North Carolina..... | 6,517,284 | 5,255,742 | 5,872,942 | 4,692,187 | 1,4,692,187 | 1,4,692,187 | 1,4,692,187 | 1,4,692,187 | 30,678,564 | 30,678,564 | 18,454,215 | 18,454,215 | 18,183 | 18,183 |
| Ohio..... | 12,635,391 | 14,469,137 | 13,328,87 | 25,692,187 | 1,72,580,144 | 1,72,580,144 | 1,72,580,144 | 1,72,580,144 | 73,543,191 | 73,543,191 | 60,871 | 60,871 | 40,871 | 40,871 |
| Oregon..... | 836,411 | 1,111,166 | 1,166,200 | 442,229 | 442,229 | 442,229 | 1,166,200 | 1,166,200 | 829,765 | 829,765 | 72,72 | 72,72 | 146,185 | 146,185 |
| Pennsylvania..... | 10,463,260 | 11,1,166 | 1,166,200 | 1,166,200 | 1,166,200 | 1,166,200 | 1,166,200 | 1,166,200 | 1,166,200 | 1,166,200 | 34,705 | 34,705 | 34,705 | 34,705 |
| Rhode Island..... | 333,128 | 328,393 | 328,393 | 328,393 | 1,151,637 | 1,151,637 | 2,2,2,946 | 2,2,2,946 | 1,151,637 | 1,151,637 | 3,311,057 | 3,311,057 | 3,467,539 | 3,467,539 |
| South Carolina..... | 4,572,060 | 3,0,10,520 | 6,151,637 | 6,151,637 | 5,255,631 | 5,255,631 | 783,610 | 15,005,646 | 783,610 | 783,610 | 1,614,207 | 1,614,207 | 31,141,473 | 31,141,473 |
| Tennessee..... | 6,705,437 | 6,613,437 | 8,465,783 | 8,465,783 | 8,194,487 | 8,194,487 | 1,436,475 | 1,436,475 | 20,54,926 | 20,54,926 | 1,436,475 | 1,436,475 | 12,245 | 12,245 |
| Texas..... | 2,659,781 | 9,614,896 | 6,259,452 | 3,96,452 | 3,96,452 | 3,96,452 | 1,436,475 | 1,436,475 | 20,54,926 | 20,54,926 | 1,436,475 | 1,436,475 | 72,677 | 72,677 |
| Utah..... | 77,219 | 188,743 | 22,879 | 188,743 | 188,743 | 188,743 | 188,743 | 188,743 | 1,436,475 | 1,436,475 | 1,436,475 | 1,436,475 | 37,085,314 | 37,085,314 |
| Vermont..... | 2,823,157 | 3,073,257 | 3,665,935 | 5,950,273 | 5,950,273 | 5,950,273 | 1,436,475 | 1,436,475 | 1,436,475 | 1,436,475 | 1,436,475 | 1,436,475 | 1,436,475 | 1,436,475 |
| Virginia..... | 11,437,821 | 8,165,040 | 9,392,236 | 9,392,236 | 1,130,977 | 1,130,977 | 1,130,977 | 1,130,977 | 1,130,977 | 1,130,977 | 21,712 | 21,712 | 1,436,475 | 1,436,475 |
| Washington..... | 11,81,839 | 162,016 | 190,402 | 280,511 | 85,219 | 85,219 | 2,112,016 | 2,112,016 | 2,112,016 | 2,112,016 | 8,171,843 | 8,171,843 | 8,171,843 | 8,171,843 |
| West Virginia..... | 3,746,167 | 5,899,343 | 5,758,847 | 14,227,384 | 14,227,384 | 14,227,384 | 14,227,384 | 14,227,384 | 14,227,384 | 14,227,384 | 11,059,290 | 11,059,290 | 15,035,393 | 15,035,393 |
| Wyoming..... | 3,746,167 | 5,899,343 | 5,758,847 | 14,227,384 | 14,227,384 | 14,227,384 | 14,227,384 | 14,227,384 | 14,227,384 | 14,227,384 | 11,059,290 | 11,059,290 | 15,035,393 | 15,035,393 |

takes place the decadence of those States will be constant and increasing.

UNDEVELOPED RESOURCES.

While the Southern States are favored with a full share of the elements essential to prosperity that are enjoyed by the States generally, they have also important resources yet unimproved which are peculiarly their own, and which, under a proper system of development, can not fail to be productive of immense wealth to each of these States, and a high degree of prosperity to every industrious individual within their borders. Prominent among these is an

IMMENSE AREA OF COTTON GROWING LAND.

It has now become an undisputed fact that no known portion of the earth's surface can compete successfully with the Southern States in the production of cotton.

During the years of the great rebellion strenuous efforts were made by England and other Powers to stimulate the cotton product of India, Egypt, and other countries into successful competition with the Southern States in the production of this all-important commodity. But in no case was the effort attended with satisfactory results, and the enterprise has been abandoned. The world depends mainly upon these Southern States for its cotton. Yet the cotton-growing area is still unimproved except to a very limited extent. We have already stated the fact that at no one time has over seven per cent. of the cotton lands in the Southern States been under cultivation. And now, instead of seizing the golden opportunity of rapidly increasing the cultivated area and thereby restoring the exhausted wealth and recuperating the wasted energies of these States, the lords of the soil are actually allowing the yearly product to suffer a large annual decrease in quantity!

To satisfy the reader of the correctness of our statements as to the percentage of the area under cultivation and annual decrease of the total crop, we ask

an examination of the following statement in connection with the previous table showing the total crops for the years 1860 and 1870:

Total area and area under cultivation in the Cotton States.

| States. | Area—acres. | Acres cultivated. |
|----------------------|-------------|-------------------|
| Virginia | 26,240,000 | 8,165,400 |
| North Carolina | 32,450,560 | 5,258,742 |
| South Carolina | 21,760,000 | 3,10,539 |
| Georgia | 37,120,000 | 6,31,856 |
| Florida | 37,931,520 | 736,172 |
| Alabama | 32,432,080 | 5,062,204 |
| Mississippi | 30,173,840 | 4,209,146 |
| Tennessee | 29,184,000 | 6,843,278 |
| Arkansas | 33,406,720 | 1,859,821 |
| Louisiana | 26,393,200 | 2,045,640 |
| Texas | 173,587,840 | 2 9 4,886 |
| Kentucky | 24,115,200 | 8 013,850 |
| Total..... | 506,740,960 | 55,001,124 |

Virginia should not probably be classed among the cotton States, yet it gives an annual return of quite a number of bales of cotton, and under proper cultivation is capable of producing a heavy cotton crop. These figures, however, show the entire per centage of land under cultivation for cotton and other crops, and they reveal the fact that only about nine and a quarter per cent. of all the fertile acres of the South are yet improved. And even this fractional portion is so imperfectly developed that it is somewhat of a mystery how a crop comes to maturity, year after year, affording so large an average product. If seven per cent. of the cotton lands have under unskilled cultivation yielded an annual average of about \$300,000,000 worth of cotton, what will be the value of the product when 50 or 75 per cent. of the entire cotton area is put under a cotton crop, cultivated by intelligent and skilled labor? The populations of the world are calling for just such a product. It is wanted now; it will be needed more next year, and still more each successive year as the world grows in population and civilization. What a prospect is thus afforded for the successful development of the cotton-bottoms

of the South. The total annual product of the precious metals within the Union is not of more value than one-third of the present annual cotton yield. Under full development the aggregate value of this great Southern staple product will equal in millions of dollars the entire annual mineral product of the United States.

Another peculiarity of many of the Southern States is their

RICE LANDS.

These have been sadly neglected, and the product is but a mere fraction of what it might become under systematic cultivation. It is an article of universal demand, and can not fail to be productive of large revenues in the future.

TOBACCO SOIL.

In soil and climate for the successful cultivation of the highest grades of tobacco the Southern States are almost without a rival in any part of the world, and the wealth that may be derived by the planters from this article can be limited only by the extent of the area under cultivation.

TROPICAL FRUITS.

The Gulf States yield oranges and lemons and tropical fruits and vegetables in great abundance, and of fine quality, and under intelligent cultivation and increased facilities for quick transportation to the Middle, Northern, and Eastern States, these products may be so improved in quality and increased in quantity as to become an important and highly lucrative branch of commerce.

Here, then, in these States we have an area of 506,740,960 million acres of fertile land, only 55,001,124 acres of which are under cultivation. On all this broad area is a soil adapted not only to the great staple products of wheat, corn, vegetables, and fruit, but it is also peculiarly fitted for the unlimited production of those great sources of wealth, cotton, rice, and tobacco, and tropical fruits and vegetables.

EXTENSIVE WATER BASE.

In addition to this combination of ex-

clusive sources of wealth these States enjoy also peculiar facilities for the development of their resources and for building up an extensive home and foreign commerce. From Delaware to Texas, inclusive, there is a range of eleven States with an Atlantic and Gulf water base of two thousand five hundred miles in extent, while all the other sea-board States have only six hundred miles of sea coast. The South has a series of magnificent rivers, including the majestic Mississippi, and these, with their numerous harbors, are always open the year round, while many of those in the North are generally ice-bound during a portion of the winter months.

PECULIARITY OF CLIMATE AND SOIL.

The commerce of the South knows no check from frost or ice-bound rivers, harbors, and coasts; its soil is never frozen, and two crops in the year from the same soil may be raised with greater certainty than one crop in many of the Eastern and Northwestern States.

MINERAL WEALTH.

Aside from all these advantages the undeveloped mineral capacities of some of the Southern States are almost exhaustless, and can not fail to become an important industry in the future. So far, however, mining operations have been extremely limited and primitive.

MUSCLE AND BRAIN.

Among the other undeveloped sources of wealth and power in the Southern States are white muscle and colored brain. Slavery led directly to idleness, and the fruits of idleness are poverty and vice. The white man from pride and laziness will not labor; the colored man, through ignorance, can not do so skillfully, and there is comparatively no skilled labor performed in the Southern States except to a limited extent in some of the border States. There can be no permanent prosperity where the people are proverbially lazy and always idle. Henry Ward Beecher's thoughts, as expressed a few days ago before an audience of six thousand people at a county fair in

New England, are to the point, and we present briefly, not his exact words, but the sentiments he uttered in a hurried impromptu address. His theme was "The Ennobling Nature of Work." He told his auditors that in his opinion laziness and depravity were synonymous terms. "Lazy men were rarely too lazy to fight, but it is better to pound the earth than to pound our fellow-men; better to stab the ground than each other; that looking forward distinguishes the man from the brute. Man can intelligently forecast. The wider the range of a man's plans the more intelligent he proves himself. He who can take in the whole scope of life is the man of largest education. When men work with both hands and brains it is no longer drudgery. Willing, intelligent, organized work is civilization. Those conditions which relieve men of earning their own livings are misfortunes. Wealth must feed nobler desires than the appetites of the body. Men have tastes, heads, and faculties higher than bodily wants. Their tastes for music, painting, and inventive arts multiply their occupations and increase their skill. Men don't love to work, but they must work or starve. Work is the Lord's distributive whipping. [Laughter and cheers.] Woe to that girl who has not been brought up to work. [No applause.] Neither the threat of war and insurrection nor the vice of drunkenness is the most alarming symptom of the times.

"Idleness and the failure of personal independence are far more alarming symptoms. These are our plague spots. I fear when I hear men pleading for fewer hours of work. No man ought to work more than eight hours for another man; but he will not be hurt by working twelve and fifteen hours a day for himself. It is not the man of leisure that has most brains or education. I have known old New England farmers who have worked twelve and fifteen hours a day, and were learned men. I am not alarmed at the present condition of the devastated thirteen States of the

South. In fifty years that section will, under newer and juster systems of labor, be more prosperous than ever. It is not identity but variety that makes nations great and prosperous."

In the utterance of these sentiments Mr. Beecher has described the present condition of idleness among the white population of the South, and pictured some of its consequences. But ignorance, as well as idleness, is fearfully prevalent among both the colored and lower grades of the white classes. This is shown in the following official statement of comparative illiteracy South and North:

Per cent. of illiterates, 10 years and over, to total population of same age.

| | | | |
|----------------------|-------|---------------------|------|
| Alabama | 54.19 | California | 7.37 |
| Arkansas | 39.62 | Connecticut | 6.95 |
| Delaware | 24.95 | Illinois | 7.38 |
| Florida | 54.76 | Iowa | 5.45 |
| Georgia | 56.03 | Maine | 3.86 |
| Kentucky | 35.71 | Minnesota | 7.99 |
| Louisiana | 52.46 | New Hampshire | 3.81 |
| Maryland | 23.53 | New Jersey | 8.03 |
| Mississippi | 53.91 | New York | 7.08 |
| North Carolina | 51.67 | Ohio | 8.86 |
| South Carolina | 57.14 | Oregon | 6.84 |
| Tennessee | 40.94 | Pennsylvania | 8.56 |
| Texas | 38.82 | Vermont | 6.84 |
| Virginia | 50.10 | Wisconsin | 7.38 |
| Average | 45.27 | Average | 6.89 |

This condition of general illiteracy is an insuperable barrier to successful development, no matter what the material resources of a State may be; and when it is accompanied, as in the South, among the uneducated portion of the white population, with a pride which scorns to labor with the hands, it would be as unreasonable to look for material development and prosperity as to expect a field to produce a profitable crop without culture. But with the removal of these barriers there will be added to the means of development two of the most powerful elements of success—hands that are willing to work and educated brains to guide them. These are the keys that will yet unlock the storehouses of Southern wealth, and the sooner they are made available the speedier will be the development of the boundless resources which will yet rank

those States among the most prosperous, thickly populated, wealthiest, and morally powerful portions of the Union.

"Then haste thee, Time—'tis kindness all
That speeds thy winged feet so fast;
Thy pleasures stay not till they pall,
And all thy pains are quickly past."

PREREQUISITES TO THE SUCCESSFUL DEVELOPMENT OF THE NEW SOUTH.

The emancipation act has removed forever the original cause of decay in the Southern States. Free labor has taken the place of slave work, and a million or more of willing hands, with the shackles of bondage removed, cluster around the plantations ready to labor for a moderate remuneration. This is an important guarantee for the future prosperity of those States. But there are other elements indispensably necessary to the successful development of the bountiful resources bestowed upon that portion of the Union. Prominent among these are:

1. SECURITY TO LIFE.
2. POPULAR EDUCATION.
3. FREEDOM OF OPINION.
4. RESPECT FOR PERSONAL RIGHTS.
5. UNIVERSAL INDUSTRY.

No matter from what cause the present disturbed condition of those States originated, the claims of humanity and the public voice demand the restoration of law and order, with full protection to life and the legitimate exercise of the elective franchise. The absence of these conditions has led to military occupancy. But this expedient should be temporary, and merely preliminary to the adoption of measures that will restore confidence and create a patriotic zeal to advance the material, moral, and intellectual prosperity of the South. *These must come from the people themselves.* It therefore becomes the duty of every good citizen to rise above all party affiliations that stand in the way of harmony and progress, and unite with the friends of law and order in advancing the common good.

Free schools and popular education are the very foundation of permanent prosperity and moral power. Slavery pro-

hibited education, but freedom demands it, and Congress will stop short of performing an imperative duty if it does not co-operate with the State Legislatures and the United States Bureau of Education in providing free schools for every community throughout those States, under regulations compelling the attendance of the children. Remove the ignorance that now prevails, and there will be no further use for a military police. Educate the children, and they will soon become educated men and women. The prejudices of the present age will disappear with its illiteracy, and the next generation will be better qualified to discharge successfully the duties and responsibilities of life.

Idleness is not only a source of affliction, but a terrible curse. An idle man is a burden to his fellows. If he will not labor for himself somebody must do it for him. An idle family is an infliction upon the community, and idle communities are a national calamity. Education will do much to remove the idea that labor is degrading, and by it ambition and enterprise will be stimulated in the breasts of young men entering upon the duties of life, and mental and physical effort will become a pleasure rather than a burden when found to be the direct means to success in life.

With these prerequisites secured, with peace fully restored and harmony and mutual confidence established, with school-houses for every community and every child in school, and educated youth graduating and emerging into manhood, and with a love of labor, stimulated by laudable ambition and intelligent enterprise, the people of those favored States will rise from their present condition and press forward to a successful competition with the most prosperous States in the Union. Immigration and capital from other States and from Europe will be attracted thither almost without limitation. Great manufacturing establishments will rise up on the water-courses and in other favorable localities. Villages will grow into towns and towns

into cities. The export of cotton, tobacco, rice, and fruits, and also of manufactured goods, will be direct from Southern ports, while a vast portion of the foreign importations for the central and northwestern States will come direct from foreign to Southern ports.

These, in short, are but a few of the

natural and legitimate results that must inevitably follow an intelligent application to the development of the marvelous and peculiar resources of these highly favored States, known thenceforward not as God-forsaken slave States, but as the prosperous, wealthy, and morally powerful NEW SOUTH.

ALARMED AT THE CONSEQUENCES OF THEIR OWN ACTS

The members of the Southern "White Leagues" are already becoming alarmed at the effects produced upon the public mind by their acts of ostracism, murder, and other atrocities committed against the harmless and defenseless colored populations in some of the Southern States. They did not intend to have the secret movements of the "Leagues" made public, nor to allow their proscription of the colored voter from the ballot box to be made known in the North until after the elections were over. In *ante-bellum* times there were no Republicans in the South, and no Republican newspapers south of Mason and Dixon's line. Deeds of darkness could be committed then *ad infinitum* upon the helpless colored race in almost any part of the slave States, and never be published within the State, or known in any Northern State unless some smart negro escaped on the underground railway and carried the news to Canada. But the emancipation of the Southern bondmen and the suppression of the rebellion opened the way for establishing a free press in the South, in many cases conducted with a considerable degree of ability by emancipated slaves themselves. And now these atrocities are made public as soon as they are committed, and the facts are republished throughout the Union. Concealment of deeds of darkness is no longer possible to any considerable extent. Their enormity is seen by the public eye in all its heinousness from Maine to Oregon, and the crime is felt and accepted as committed not only upon the helpless victims who are made more immediately to

smart, but against the people and the Government by whom the colored race was lifted from the condition of slaves to that of freedmen, and ultimately to freemen and citizens, one of whom, at least, has already occupied the Speaker's chair in Congress, and conducted the business of the House, for the time, while others of their race have represented the Government abroad in official capacity.

The time has come when the rights of colored citizens must be respected, and those who attempt to trample upon them, be they "White Leagues" or Satan's own black leagues, must be made to know that they can not longer do so with impunity. There is apparently an impression abroad among the turbulent spirits of the South that they are so guarded by State rights that Federal interference can not reach them. This is a delusion inherited from the past generation.

The President and his Cabinet and the Congress and people of the United States have been disposed to be lenient, and for nine years, since that memorable scene under the Appomattox apple tree, the Administration and the people's Representatives in Congress have labored faithfully and in earnest to unite the North and the South, and tempt capital, enterprise, and with them carry prosperity into the disaffected Southern sections of the Union, so that the people there might participate in the harmony and material progress of all other parts of the domain.

But against all these earnest and continued efforts a persistent opposition

has been manifested by an inconsistent, unreconciled, and unreasonable portion of the white people in the South. This spirit is now developing itself more prominently in acts of tyranny, deliberate murder, and usurpation.

Forbearance and patience have their limits, and in the relations of the Government to this remnant of the old secession spirit they have reached that limit. These crimes and acts of violence of every kind must be brought to a close, and the criminals punished, at whatever cost. The President has spoken, and Congress and the people may find it necessary to speak and act. We must have peace and security to life and property throughout the length and breadth of the land. Troops are to be placed in the localities where the rights of citizens are proscribed, whether white or black. If, after that, attempts are made to re-enact the scenes of the past few weeks, the next measure of the Government may probably be martial law, the offer of large rewards for the arrest of the perpetrators, and a levy tax upon the communities where property is destroyed or murder committed for an amount equal to the value of the missing chattels, and for the life support of the families of those so murdered. These measures, should they be found necessary, will be supported by a military force equal to the emergency.

Congress will, if necessary, act immediately on reassembling, and any man who obtains a claim to a seat in Congress by fraud or intimidation on his part or by others, in depriving citizens of the privilege of voting who are legally entitled to do so, or otherwise preventing a fair election, may, on the facts being proved, be refused a seat. In contested elections the party proved to be in the wrong may not be allowed mileage, pay, or the cost of the contest. Other measures may be found necessary to protect the people in the full exercise of all their rights of citizenship, and to provide against the authors or abettors of fraud in the use of the ballot-box from occupying seats in Congress.

The Southern question will now be met promptly, and if leniency can not secure peace, harmony, and justice, the strong arm of the law will be called into requisition, and the authors of violence and fraud will be made to understand that peace and honesty are not only the best but the safest and cheapest policy.

The members of the "White Leagues" have already discovered their mistake, and are not only attempting to deny that their organizations are for political purposes, but would have the people in the North believe that all these crimes are committed or instigated by the colored people. It won't do. The ruse is too thin. There is not a more peaceable class of people in the community; they are never known to organize in bands for purposes of aggression or violence in any form, and they rarely combine for self-protection, only as a last resort. As servants they are obedient, submissive, and willing; and if properly treated would become a source of almost unbounded wealth in the States to which they are attached. Never did an intelligent people stand so directly in their own light as those are doing who, merely for political purposes, are persecuting and driving the colored laborers from their plantations and out of the State.

VERY OPPRESSIVE.—Governor Kellogg found the State tax when he came into power twenty-one mills per \$100. The last Legislature reduced the tax to fourteen and a half mills per \$100. He has largely reduced the State debt, and through the action of the courts has relieved the people from the burden of fraudulent bonds issued by former reckless administrations. The good people of Louisiana may call this oppression, but up this way we could endure it without a complaint. If the citizens of Louisiana had tried half as earnestly to make Kellogg's administration a success as they have to make it a failure they would have had a first-class government to-day.

GENERAL BUTLER ON SOUTHERN OUTRAGES.

The following extract from an address by Hon. Benjamin F. Butler to his constituents in Gloucester, Massachusetts, on the 12th of September last, expresses not only his own views, but the Republican sentiment throughout the Union:

"The King of a barbarous tribe in Africa took five Englishmen prisoners who were peacefully trading in his country, marched them to his capital, and there held them as such, with maltreatment, but when asked to release them refused. What is the protection which England gives to her citizens? The whole English nation was aroused, war was declared, an army transported half way across the globe. The army of the King of Abyssinia was overpowered in battle, his capitol was assaulted and demolished, and its treasure brought away by the English soldiers as loot and their countrymen freed from imprisonment. And shall it be said that Union men—good, honest, peaceful men, pursuing the ordinary avocations of life upon an American soil, protected by our flag and our Constitution and our laws, where they should be unmolested—can not have that protection and safety and redress for their wrongs which England can give to her citizens even when subjected only to imprisonment amid the wild jungles of Africa? Is the red cross of St. George so powerful to protect and save its subjects and the Stars and Stripes so powerless in our land, upon our country's soil, in one of the richest and what ought to be the most peaceful State of the Union? Let me be just to the men of the South and give the excuse they put forward in justification of this outrage. They say the government of the State of Louisiana has been seized from the old white residents by the vote of the negroes, and a State government set up of whites and blacks, which is corrupt and eating up their substance. We need not stop to argue or deny the truth of this justification, and that, too, not because the corruption of the government is no justification of the murder of the citizen by armed violence, because other and numberless murders too well authenticated to be denied have been committed in the States of Tennessee and Kentucky, in both of which the negro has no power in the government, nor any power of self-protection, but which are wholly under Democratic rule. So that it is

clear, white men's leagues have sprung up all over the South as lawless and murderous in the States where the negroes are powerless as where they have power in the State government, and as these wrongs are done openly and continually in these States, it clearly appears that they are parts of the plan to renew the war, crush out the negro and deprive him of his political rights. Indeed, I read in a Southern paper a notice served upon the negroes, that they must either be deprived of all political rights or the State shall be a military territory. This, then, is war, and the men of Essex, as on the 17th of April, if need be, will again march to save the country from traitor hands. When I heard of the alarming condition of things in the South, and especially when I heard of this most terrible wrong crying for redress, I said to myself, "My mission in the service of my country is not ended; the war waged to establish the just right of the citizen is not yet over; whatever I have of remaining health and strength must be devoted to putting this matter right;" and, therefore, laying aside all considerations of ease or personal advantage to myself, I am here asking again for your suffrages, that I may be in a position to carry out your declared will that every foot of American soil shall be trodden by an American citizen undisturbed and unmolested, with entire safety to his life and property under our flag, and protected by our laws. And I here take leave to say to you what you know and believe, that I have done and can do as much in that direction, if in no other way, as any man who will present himself for your votes, be he whom he may."

IN speaking of New York State politics the Albany *Evening Journal* says:

"The eminent purity of Governor Dix's management of public affairs has been recognized throughout the land.

"His inflexible opposition to all jobbery has become so much a proverb that it is commonly spoken of as idle to pass any doubtful measure so long as he remains Governor, since it is sure to be killed by the Executive veto. In enforcing economy at all points he is as vigilant and firm as in enforcing purity. That portion of the State administration which is in harmony with the Governor has carried out the policy of retrenchment with an unsparing hand."

LOUISIANA—SPEECH OF SENATOR MORTON.

From the speech of Senator Morton, delivered in Indianapolis, Ind., on Friday evening, September 18, we quote the following in relation to the difficulties in Louisiana :

I now come to the condition of Louisiana. I shall speak of that more particularly than any other State, first, because it just now attracts the public attention, and next, because I have had more or less connection in Congress with what is known as the Louisiana question. On last Monday there was an uprising of the White League all over the State of Louisiana. In one day they took possession of all the offices, turned out the Governor in the city of New Orleans, and captured the whole machinery of the State government. For some months past the Democratic newspapers of the North have been engaged in denying the existence of these White Leagues. They said they were the invention of carpet-baggers and scalawag Republicans. But they can not deny it any longer. The White League exists not only in Louisiana, but in other Southern States; I presume in all of them tonight, and, for aught I know, in Indiana. It is but another name for the Ku Klux organization, and is in the nature of the Sons of Liberty, that once existed in Indiana. They rose in insurrection in New Orleans. We are told that thirty men were killed and fifty or sixty wounded. Some three weeks before that, in Red River parish, in the northern part of the State—a strong Republican parish—they notified the Republican officers to resign. Armed men went to them with this threatening notice. They refused to resign. The Leaguers then told these Republican officers, the sheriff and others, that if they did not resign they would be killed. They believed it, and then agreed to resign, provided their lives were protected. Their enemies made that contract with them, and they resigned. For safe keeping they were put into Coushatta, the little county town of Red River parish. Parish, you will remember, is the name there for what we here call county. They were then taken out, against their wishes, to be conducted to Shreveport, and while on the way they were murdered—six of them—in cold blood, together with five negroes who were in company with them. It was a deliberate and atrocious murder of men against whom there was no

charge of offense. The first story telegraphed here was that they were killed by a band of Texans; but that was nearly a hundred miles from Texas. The people of Texas did not care anything about it; they were engaged in a killing in their own State.

THE KELLOGG GOVERNMENT.

Time passed on down to last Monday, then this killing took place in New Orleans. The government of Kellogg was overthrown. I want to say a few words about that government. It has been in operation nearly two years. It has been recognized on five different occasions by the President of the United States as the lawful government of Louisiana. It was recognized by the House of Representatives at Washington by the admission of a member of that body who held the certificate of Governor Kellogg to his election. It has been recognized by the Senate of the United States on two occasions by the refusal of the Senate to pass a bill providing for a new election. That government was as completely recognized as the lawful government of Louisiana as is the government of the State of Indiana to-day. The courts of Louisiana had recognized it. The Supreme Court of that State is a very respectable and learned tribunal. The judges were elected in 1868. The chief justice, Ludling, is a native of Louisiana, was a Confederate during the war, is a man of learning and ability, but like Colonel Hays, he accepted the situation when the war was over and became a Republican. That court is above suspicion. One member resigned two years ago, and the vacancy was filled, but three of the four judges were elected in 1868, and had no connection with the quarrel. They were as independent of it as we are here. Yet that Supreme Court has in divers cases recognized Governor Kellogg as the lawful Governor, and the Kellogg Legislature as the lawful Legislature of Louisiana. So, too, of the subordinate court. Last winter, and the winter before that, the Legislature passed more than two hundred laws, now in operation, and enforced by all the courts. Every parish officer, every justice of the peace, in Louisiana had his commission from Governor Kellogg, and recognized him as the lawful government of the State. Yet under the pretext that he was not elected this revolution took place, and this bloodshed, not only at Coushatta and

New Orleans, but in many other places during the last two years.

THE STATE A VAST SLAUGHTER-HOUSE.

To understand the condition of Louisiana you must go back eight years. Louisiana has been a vast slaughterhouse. Murder has been committed on nearly every plantation. The streets, the woods, and the by-ways have been slippery with blood. These things pass rapidly out of the public mind. The Democrats have had control of the Associated Press there and of the telegraph. They have filled the ears of the people with stories of corruption and fraud, while they have carefully concealed the pools of blood that are to be found in every part of the State. I propose very briefly to revive your recollection of the history of Louisiana for the last eight years, and you will then better understand what has just taken place. You will remember that in August, 1866, a massacre took place in New Orleans. The Republicans were holding a convention in the Mechanics' Institute, which is in the very heart of New Orleans, the building then and since used as a State House. They were holding a convention to propose amendments to the State constitution, to be submitted to a vote of the people of the State for ratification. The then State government of Louisiana, that had been organized by Andrew Johnson through some of its subordinate officers, gave that convention notice that it must not assemble. It was for an innocent purpose; it was lawful. They had just as much right to meet as you have to come here to-night, and they did meet at the hour of noon in New Orleans. They were at once surrounded by a vast crowd, composed largely of the police of the city—a ferocious armed mob. They were fired upon, and the police and mob followed them up stairs, when they jumped from the windows, and were shot there and on the streets—everywhere. More than two hundred men were killed and wounded in less than thirty minutes. The next winter the House of Representatives sent a committee down there to investigate this horrid butchery. I will ask my friend to read to you from the report of the committee.

THE MASSACRE IN AUGUST, 1866.

Governor Baker read as follows: "The committee examined seventy-four persons as to the facts of violence and bloodshed upon that day. It is in evidence that men who were in the hall, terrified by the merciless attacks of the police, sought safety by jumping from the win-

dows, a distance of twenty feet, to the ground, and, as they jumped, were shot by police or citizens. Some, disfigured by wounds, fought their way down stairs to the street, to be shot or beaten to death on the pavement. Colored persons at distant points in the city peaceably pursuing their lawful business were attacked by the police, shot, and cruelly beaten. Men of character and position, some of whom were members and some spectators of the convention, escaped from the hall covered with wounds and blood, and were preserved almost by a miracle from death. Scores of colored citizens bear frightful scars, more numerous than many soldiers of a dozen well-fought fields can show, proofs of fearful danger and strange escape; men were shot while waving handkerchiefs in token of surrender and submission; white men and black, with arms uplifted, praying for life were answered by shot and blow from knife and club; the bodies of some were 'pounded to a jelly'; a colored man was dragged from under a street crossing and killed at a blow; men concealed in out-houses and among piles of lumber were eagerly sought for and slaughtered and maimed without remorse; the dead bodies upon the street were violated by shot, kick, and stab; the face of a man 'just breathing his last' was gashed by a knife or razor in the hands of a woman; an old gray-haired man, peaceably walking the street at a distance from the Institute, was shot through the head; negroes were taken out of their houses and shot; a policeman riding in a buggy deliberately fired his revolver from the carriage into a crowd of colored men; a colored man two miles away from the convention hall was taken from his shop by the police at about 4 o'clock in the afternoon of the riot and shot and wounded in the side, hip, and back; one man was wounded by fourteen blows, shots, and stabs; the body of another received seven pistol balls. After the slaughter had measurably ceased, carts, wagons, and drays, driven through the streets, gathered the dead, the dying, and the wounded in promiscuous loads, a policeman in some cases riding in the wagon seated upon the living men beneath him." (Reports of committees, House of Representatives, second session Thirty-ninth Congress, page 10.)

Senator Morton. That is a very brief description of a massacre in the city of New Orleans in the middle of the day in August, 1866, of men who had simply assembled to hold a convention. Among others killed were Mr. Dosty, a white

man of distinguished talents and character, and many others eminent in their professions, and who had done service in the armies of the country.

2,000 REPUBLICANS KILLED IN TWO MONTHS.

Time passed on. In 1868 Louisiana was reconstructed under acts of Congress. The first election of State officers was held in the month of May, 1868, by the General of the Army. It was conducted under the authority of the Government of the United States, and was confessedly a fair election. Nobody denied it. The Republican State ticket was elected by over 26,000 majority. There was a majority of colored men in Louisiana, and there are more blacks than whites there to-day, and there were thousands of white Republicans in addition, as there are to-day. The colored men voted the Republican ticket solidly. We carried the State in May by 26,000 majority. Afterward, in the summer, the Kuklux were organized in Louisiana, and between the 1st of September and the first Tuesday in November, only two months, they had killed and wounded over two thousand white and black Republicans in that State. A committee was sent down there by Congress to examine into the condition of affairs, and I will read to you a short extract from the report of the Committee on Southern Outrages: "The testimony shows that over two thousand persons were killed, wounded, and otherwise injured in that State within a few weeks prior to the Presidential election; that half the State was overrun by violence; midnight raids, secret murders, and open riot kept the people in constant terror, until the Republicans surrendered all claims, and the election was carried by the Democracy. The parish of New Orleans contained 29,910 voters, 15,020 blacks. In the spring of 1868 that parish gave 13,973 Republican votes. In the fall of 1868 it gave Grant 1,178, a falling off of 12,795 votes. Riots prevailed for weeks, sweeping the city of New Orleans and filling it with scenes of blood, and Kuklux notices were scattered through the city warning the colored men not to vote. In Caddo there were 2,987 Republicans. In the spring of 1868 they carried the parish. In the fall they gave Grant one vote. Here, also, there were bloody riots."

THE RIOT IN SAINT LANDRY PARISH.

But the most remarkable case is that of Saint Landry, a planting parish on the river Teche. Here the Republicans

had a registered majority of 1,071 votes. In the spring of 1868 they carried the parish by 678. In the fall they gave Grant no vote, not one, while the Democrats cast 4,787, the full vote of the parish, for Seymour and Blair. Here occurred one of the bloodiest riots on record, in which the Kuklux killed and wounded over two hundred Republicans, hunting and chasing them for two days and nights through fields and swamps. Thirteen captives were taken from the jail and shot. A pile of twenty-five bodies was found half buried in the woods. Having conquered the Republicans, killed and driven off the white leaders, the Kuklux captured the masses, masked them with badges of red flannel, enrolled them in clubs, led them to the polls, made them vote the Democratic ticket, and then gave them certificates of the fact. Over two thousand men, according to this report, were killed and wounded within sixty days before the Presidential election of 1868; and the committee expressly say they did not go over nearly all the State. They did not get nearly all the cases.

THE RESULTS UPON THE VOTE.

Now what was the result? The Republicans had carried the State in May by 26,000; the Democrats carried it in November by 41,000, making a change of 67,000 votes. To show you in detail how it worked I will give you the vote in some of the parishes: At the spring election the Republicans polled 628 votes in the parish of Bienville; in the fall election but one. In the parish of Bossier they polled 727 votes in the spring; in November one vote. In the parish of Caddo they polled 1,242 votes in the spring; in November one vote. In Claiborne parish they polled 719 votes in the spring; in November two votes. In De Soto parish they polled 649 votes in the spring; in November none. In Jackson they polled 490 votes in the spring; in November none. In Lafayette they polled 743 votes in the spring; in November none. In Morehouse they polled 547 votes in the spring; in November one. In Sabine they polled 196 votes in the spring; in November two. In St. Bernard they polled 524 votes in the spring; in November one. In St. Landry they polled 2,514 votes in the spring; in November none. In St. Martin they polled 1,057 votes in the spring; in November 25. In Union they polled 287 votes in the spring; in November one. In Vermillion they polled 133 votes in the spring; in November none. In Washington they polled 145 votes in the spring;

in November none. I have not time to run over the whole list. Louisiana is a Republican State as certainly as Vermont or Massachusetts. After these murders of 1868 they quit killing negroes in droves and crowds, but in lonely fields and forests the solitary shooting went on.

GOVERNOR WARMOTH—THE COALITION.

Now I come to another chapter in this history. The Republicans had elected Governor Warmoth in 1868. He was a young man of good character at that time, and of great promise. He is a very brilliant, a magnetic man. He turned out to be very corrupt. He was engaged in all sorts of schemes. You have heard of the celebrated slaughterhouse act, in which he was a partner—of the levee bill and the Gulf canal bill. In all these schemes his partners were leading and wealthy Democrats in New Orleans, who furnished the money—bankers, capitalists, and insurance men. They were the directors in these institutions. In 1871 the Republican party sloughed Warmoth off. They could not and would not carry him longer. General Grant refused to see him in Washington; the Administration cast him off. Then he went to the Democratic party. He went, they said, to his own, and they received him gladly, although he had been held up by the Democratic press throughout the nation as the worst man in Louisiana—as the man who had ruined it. Yet, when he left the Republican party, the Democrats took him, and they formed a coalition. That coalition was the beginning of the troubles we are now discussing. Under the law of Louisiana, as it then stood, the Governor had the appointment of all the election officers in the different parishes, so that the whole of the machinery of the election was in his hands. It is a matter of proof taken before the committee at Washington, and is proven on the record by numerous witnesses, that the Democratic politicians of Louisiana made a coalition with Warmoth upon the express understanding and estimate that his control of the machinery of the election was equal to 20,000 votes. They believed that through him they could carry the State; without him they knew they could not do it. They made this contract with him: he was to carry the State for the Democratic ticket, and they in turn were to elect him to the Senate of the United States.

THE ELECTION IN 1872.

The Democratic party went into that

election in 1872 relying wholly and entirely upon fraud for their success. [That is the way they do it here, Laughter—"Good! Good!"] Governor Warmoth tried to carry out his part of the contract, and did carry it out to the best of his ability. He succeeded in bringing in returns, many of them forged and altered in New Orleans, showing that John D. McEnery, the Democratic candidate for Governor, was elected over Kellogg. This matter came before the Senate and was referred to the committee of which I am chairman—the Committee on Privileges and Elections. We examined a great many witnesses, until we had taken a volume of nearly twelve hundred pages of testimony. The majority of the committee made a report, from which I dissented and made another. They reported that the whole election was void for fraud, and that neither McEnery nor Kellogg was elected. I know the impression has been made through the country, and was published, that the majority of that committee reported that McEnery, the Democratic candidate, was elected. Not so. They reported just the reverse—that nobody was elected; that the election was saturated with fraud through and through in every parish and nearly every precinct. I dissented, and took the ground that somebody was elected. I thought the evidence showed that, notwithstanding all the fraud, Kellogg had a majority of 3,000 to 4,000 of all the votes put in the box, and if the election had been conducted fairly his majority would have been not less than sixteen thousand. To show what the report of the majority of the committee was I shall ask some friend who has a good voice to read an extract from the report of the committee. This report of the committee was made by Senator Carpenter, who introduced a bill to set aside the State government and call a new election in Louisiana, a bill predicated on the idea that nobody was elected and that the election was null. Mr. Blair read as follows:

"A careful consideration of the testimony convinces us that had the election of November last been fairly conducted and returned, Kellogg and his associates, and a Legislature composed of the same political party, would have been elected. The colored population of that State outnumbers the whites, and in the last election the colored voters were almost unanimous in their support of the Republican ticket. Governor Warmoth, who was elected by the Republicans of the State in 1868, had passed into oppo-

sition, and held in his hands the entire machinery of the election. He appointed the supervisors of registration, and they appointed the commissioners of election. The testimony shows a systematic purpose on the part of those conducting the election to throw every possible difficulty in the way of colored voters in the matter of registration. The polling places are not fixed by law, and at the last election they were purposely established by those conducting the election at places not easy of access in those parishes which were known to be largely Republican; so that in some instances voters had to travel over twenty miles to reach the polls. The election was generally conducted in quiet, and was, perhaps, unusually free from disturbance or riot. Governor Warmoth, who was the master spirit in the whole proceeding, seems to have relied upon craft rather than violence to carry the State for McEnery. In the canvass of votes which determined the McEnery government to be elected, the votes of several of the Republican parishes were rejected. The testimony shows that leading and sagacious politicians of the State, who were acting with Warmoth, entertained the opinion before the election that Warmoth's control of the election machinery was equivalent to twenty thousand votes, and we are satisfied by the testimony that the opinion was well founded. We believe that had registration been accessible to all, and polling places been properly established, the result of the election would have been entirely different; and although we can not approve of such a canvass as that made by the Lynch board, who seemed to have acted upon the principle of 'fighting the devil by fire,' and circumventing fraud by fraud, and can not say that Kellogg's government was elected, nevertheless, we believe that Kellogg's government was defeated and the popular voice reversed by fraudulent manipulation. If the Senate should be inclined not to go behind the official returns of the election, then the McEnery government and Legislature must be recognized as the lawful government of the State, and McMillen, if regularly elected by that Legislature, should be seated in the Senate in place of Kellogg. But your committee believes that this would be recognizing a government based upon fraud, in defiance of the wishes and intentions of the voters of that State."

Senator Morton. I beg leave to say to-night here to all who insist on the election of McEnery that in doing so they insist upon the triumph of the greatest

fraud that was ever practiced in this country at any election. It was most monstrous; it was wonderful in its details and its execution, as shown by the evidence. That was what drove the committee to the extraordinary conclusion that nobody was elected, and that the election was void. I looked at the evidence differently, and thought that after all Kellogg had a majority of the votes cast, and that he certainly was cheated out of twelve or fifteen thousand votes. Under the laws of Louisiana the returning board counts the votes to determine who are elected Governor and Lieutenant Governor, members of the Legislature and parish officers. This board consisted of five, two named in the act authorizing it, and the Governor, Lieutenant Governor, and Secretary, who are members *ex officio*. The law provides that when a vacancy occurs within the board the members shall fill it. There were two vacancies. If they were filled by Warmoth then they would become a Warmoth board, and count the fraudulently elected candidates in. If they were filled by Lynch, his opponent, it would be called a Republican board. Each party tried to fill it. The Supreme Court decided that the Lynch board, or anti-Warmoth board, was the lawful board. They decided that in several cases. That board counted the votes, and declared the Republican candidates elected. After this board had been elected they called upon Governor Warmoth for the returns which had been sent him after the election. They made two demands, but he refused to give them up. The returns were concealed somewhere in the city, and could not be found. Then, after waiting for them, and not being able to get them, they went on to count the votes without them. There is where the illegality occurred. I never justified their action in that case, and never justified Judge Durell's action. I said in my report that it was not for me to go behind the courts of the State; in regard to which was the lawful board. The State court decided that the Lynch board was the lawful one, and that their finding of who was elected was conclusive.

THE PROPOSAL FOR A NEW ELECTION.

Now, one word in regard to my own action in the Senate. When the majority of the committee brought in the bill for a new election I opposed it upon the ground that the returning board, created to count and determine who are elected, had made their decision, and it was not competent for Congress to go

behind it. That board might have decided without the proper vote, or upon false testimony. They might not have had the proof, but they made the finding, and the Supreme Court decided that the finding was conclusive. I took the ground in the Senate, and I flatter myself that my argument was never answered, that so far as a State election was concerned the election of State officers must be determined by State tribunals, and when settled by the Supreme Court of the State, or by those tribunals created on purpose to decide State elections, that was conclusive, and the Government of the United States and Congress could not go behind the decision of these tribunals and count the votes and determine who are elected. The decision of the State tribunals upon purely State questions arising under State laws, in which no statute of the United States and no provision of the Constitution of the United States were involved, was final and conclusive. In that I was sustained by a majority of the Senate. The case was made in New York in 1868. The Democratic candidate for office was elected by notorious frauds in the city of New York. The Republican candidate was elected by not less than fifteen thousand majority, but that majority was overcome by regiments of repeaters in New York, organized by Boss Tweed, and marched from poll to poll and voted the whole day through. It was a monstrous fraud, and the Democratic candidate was counted in. Suppose the attempt had been made in the Senate to turn Hoffman out and put the other in. It could not have been done; the answer would have been that Hoffman had been declared elected by the State tribunals established for that purpose, and that the Congress of the United States could not go behind that decision. Take a case right here: Suppose General Browne should contest the election of Hon. Thomas A. Hendricks as Governor of this State. Suppose the friends of General Browne should say that Governor Hendricks had obtained his small majority by repeating in the city of Indianapolis or Fort Wayne, or importing votes in Evansville or New Albany. Suppose they could even prove it, would it be competent now to go behind the State tribunals after Governor Hendricks had been recognized for two years and turn him out? Every body would say no. That is the difference in the circumstances between Kellogg and McEnery. The ground I took I regarded at the time as impregnable, although the bill was only defeated two years ago

by a small majority. Yet, when it was brought forward last session, it was not pressed to a vote, for Senator Carpenter found that it would not have half a dozen votes in the whole body. I have no defense to make for the wrongs committed by the Republicans of Louisiana. They committed some frauds undoubtedly. They violated the law in some cases. They have urged in their justification that in their opinion they were engaged in a struggle for life. They believed that a Democratic State government would be the signal for murder and slaughter; that white Republicans would be driven from the State; that it was a struggle for life, for home. I have no apology to make for any irregularities committed by them.

THE COLFAX MASSACRE.

In the month of April, 1873, another slaughter took place at Colfax, in Grant parish, which was Republican by about three hundred majority. The official returns from Grant parish were proved before the Senate committee to have been forged through and through by Warmoth's men, as were the Warmoth returns from seven other parishes in the State. Governor Kellogg commissioned the Republican sheriff and other parish officers there. McEnery commissioned the Democratic candidates as elected, when they were notoriously defeated. About the 1st of April Nash, the Democratic candidate for sheriff, gave the sheriff notice that he would turn him out of office, and demanded possession of it. The sheriff and other parish officers heard that forces were being collected in the neighboring parishes to capture the place and take possession of the offices, and they summoned a posse of about five hundred colored men to protect themselves. On Easter Sunday, I believe, the 13th of April, Nash, the Democratic candidate, appeared with one Hadnot, the commander of the forces, a member of the McEnery Legislature, who held a commission from McEnery. The town was surrounded by about twelve hundred men. The negroes retired into the court-house, on one side of which there were no windows. Nash and his forces approached on that side and set the court-house on fire. When the flames arose the negroes could not stay, and held out white handkerchiefs in token of surrender, and then rushed out through the fire, many of them with their clothes burning. As they passed they were seized and stabbed or shot. The evidence showed that three or four white men would hold a negro while another would put a pistol to his mouth

and kill him. Many of the dead had twelve or fifteen wounds on their persons. The evidence laid before the grand jury, which was the evidence I saw, showed that about thirty of these men were marched down to the river bank and shot there. Several men would be placed in a row, breast to back, and one of these ruffians standing at the end of a row would see how many bodies he could shoot his bullet through! Three days after the massacre fifty-seven dead bodies were found around the courthouse. They could not tell how many were killed in all, but the evidence showed over one hundred. It was one of the most cruel and unprovoked slaughters that ever took place. I have spoken of the recent massacre which took place at Coushatta. Between these killings the murders have been constantly going on.

THERE MUST BE SECURITY IN THE SOUTH.

Now you have something of the condition of Louisiana. I repeat, it has been a slaughter-house for eight years. Who are the men now demanding the State government of Louisiana? They are the assassins of 1866, of 1868, and of 1873—the same men, not one of whom has ever been punished to this day. It is too late now, as I said before, to inquire who was elected in Louisiana. There must be some things settled, or you can not carry on a government. There must be some time when questions of that kind can not be raised. There must be some tribunal whose decisions upon such questions must be respected as final. As Kellogg has been recognized and sustained for nearly two years, it was entirely too late to raise the question as to who was elected. I have gone through with this history, and shall conclude what I have to say upon it with the remark that beyond all question Governor Kellogg did at the time of his inauguration, and does now, represent the polities of a large majority of the people of Louisiana; that McEnery represented only the minority; that his pretended election was the most monstrous fraud ever attempted to be practiced in this country. Yet how much capital has been made by northern orators and the Northern Democratic press out of the Louisiana case. It has been a case of great irregularities; there have been frauds, undoubtedly, on both sides; there have been wrongs. But the frauds and wrongs upon the Republican side have been less than those upon the other side, in this, that they have been free from blood. Many of them have been committed in self-defense, it is said.

But I justify none of them. Yet when the Republicans were murdered, their ranks decimated; when they were hunted from day to day and from night to night need we be greatly surprised if they did not observe the law strictly? Murder is no remedy for wrong. There is a large responsibility resting upon the Democratic party in this whole business. If the Democratic party of the North, instead of denying these murders and excusing them and apologizing for them, would denounce them, it would go very far toward stopping them. But they will continue. As long as there is a great party in the North that will justify and defend these men you may expect such crimes to be carried on in the South. But for the course of the Democratic party in the North we know there would have been no rebellion. The South never would have embarked in it but for the belief that the Democratic party of the North would hold the Government still while they walked out of the Union. They would have given up the war long before they did, but for the belief that the Democratic party of the North would come into power and stop the war on our side. Throughout all the wrongs that have been committed since 1865 the great body of the Democratic party in the North have been denying and excusing what has been done in the South. I say to-night that as long as this stream of murder goes on in the South there is no help for the South. If you would reform the South, if you would make the South prosperous, and happy, you must stop the murder business. It must cease, or there is no salvation for the South. Men will not go there to live. Thousands are ready to fly from there as soon as they can. Commerce and agriculture languish, labor is not paid or flourishing. No government can flourish in the presence of murder. From the time that Cain killed Abel down to the murders in the streets of New Orleans last Monday murder has always brought its own punishment, and always will. The South must protect the lives and property of all races alike. The great fundamental principle of this Government now is liberty, equality, and equal rights to all. And until the South recognizes and enforces that principle there will be no peace. We can not go back. We have made four millions and a half of slaves free; we have clothed them with equal civil and political rights, and we are bound before God and before the world to protect them in the enjoyment of those rights. As I have said to you, I was told the other day by a distinguished

Southern man that there could be no peace in the South as long as the negro was allowed to vote. I answered him, there can be no peace in this country, and there will be none, until the rights of all men are everywhere recognized and enforced. I say, again, the murder business must be stopped. Innocent blood cries to heaven, and makes barren the soil on which it is shed. [“That’s true,” and applause.] Innocent blood contaminates like the plague, and wherever it flows the land springs up with dragons’ teeth. Those who instigate murder must perish in it. Not to do so is to reverse the decrees of the Almighty. Security for life and security for property lie at the foundation of society. They are the basis of integrity, of morals, of religion, and of all that holds men together in society. Until security shall be established in the South there will be no peace, no prosperity there. I ask if our Democratic neighbors in this State of Indiana are willing to connive at the murder of men in the South because they are colored or are Republicans. Remember that white Republicans shared the fate of negroes in many places in the South. Our Democratic neighbors must not directly or indirectly permit themselves to connive at or defend murders that take place in the South. The time has come to speak out, and we must cry aloud on this subject. It is the duty of every man, I don’t care what his politics may be. It rises far above all party questions. It is the duty of every citizen to frown upon this crime, to put it down by his influence, his voice, and his vote. If you love the South stop murder in the South. If you want to be the friend of the colored people, then compel the whites to treat them peaceably and observe the law. If you desire the South to flourish and to become again rich, prosperous, and happy, encourage her to be humane, and protect life and property; to tolerate all opinions, for there can be no prosperity there until it can be as safe to be a Republican in the South as it is to be a Democrat, [Good! good! applause,] until you can go there, and although they call you carpet-bagger, be as safe as you are in Indiana. No Northern man can go there now and live in safety and comfort. I care not if he be a Democrat “dyed in the wool,” as the phrase goes; the fact that he comes from the North subjects him to suspicion. They call him a Yankee carpet-bagger, and he can hardly go far enough in his expressions to relieve himself from suspicion. It is said now that, if any man will come South, and spend

six weeks—any man who is a Democrat—it will cure him of his Democracy forever. It may be the best thing for us to do to raise a fund, and get our Democratic friends down there for a short trip, sure that they would all come back true and firm Republicans. But, as I said, this is a question that rises above all parties and party names. Whether you are a Republican or a Democrat, I appeal to you as a man, as a Christian, as the father of a family, can you afford to aid indirectly or directly in this vast stream of murder that is now broadening and deepening throughout the Southern States? My friends, let us resolve, each one, to go and do what we conscientiously believe to be our duty in the premises.

THE ISSUE.—The political issue before the people is so simple that no one need err in understanding it. It is just this, and nothing more: Shall the control of the House of Representatives pass into the hands of the Democracy? Any side issue, any division of Republican strength on local questions, any votes drawn from the regular ticket by the Temperance or the Anti-Monopoly elements, serve to weaken our party, and in proportion to their strength tend to increase the chances of Democracy. Let nothing stand in the way of a complete Republican success. It is vital to the peace and welfare of the nation that the party that stands pledged to the unity of the Republic, to an honest and economical administration of its affairs, to the protection of its citizens at home and abroad, should be continued in power. A vote cast for an independent ticket is a vote thrown in favor of Democracy.

THE Democratic Convention leaned heavily on Jackson, but that stiff old stander can stand it. Pity there have not been more good Democrats since he died.—*Boston Herald*.

GIVE the Southern Democracy leave to triumph by intimidating the negro vote, and they will make their States as uncomfortable for “incendiary” advocates of equal rights as they ever were for the missionaries of emancipation.—*Boston Advertiser*.

THE POLITICAL OUTLOOK—PROBABLE RESULT OF THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS.

It is better always, we presume, to work before the elections and do the figuring on probable results after the contest is over. Yet a general survey of the field while the campaign is in progress, may be productive of some benefit beyond the mere gratification of personal curiosity.

In examining the situation at the present time the first thing worthy of remark is the entire absence of the third party of so very large pretensions only two years ago. There are but two organizations in the field—one of them young and vigorous, presenting full ranks, a firm front, and an aggressive policy; the other is their vigilant fault-finding Democratic opponent, whose prospects, significantly doubtful and gradually waning at best, have been sadly shattered by the discordant and dangerous doctrines enunciated in their recently published political platforms and supported in the public addresses of their leaders.

Another element to which attention everywhere is drawn at the present time, and which will have a direct bearing and influence upon the elections, is those fearful crimes committed in some of the Southern States by the members of the White League and Kuklux organizations. It has been demonstrated to a certainty that those outrages have, in every instance, been committed on political grounds by Democrats, and in the interest of the Democratic elections. But this Satanic scheme has defeated its own ends. The McEnery-Penn outrage has drawn to the South re-enforcements of United States troops, which, judiciously distributed under prudent commanders, will tend largely to stop these bloody atrocities, restore order, and guarantee equal justice to all classes of citizens in registering and voting. At the same time, according to the declarations of the Dem-

ocratic press, these White League and Kuklux crimes committed in the South will tend directly to increase Republican majorities in Eastern and Northwestern States. A writer in the Louisville *Courier-Journal*, (Democratic,) says: "The outbreaks will not help nor hinder Democratic gains in the South, but it is in the North that the Democracy stumble under the load. They can not carry it. Those who have been much in the North know how it is. An outbreak in the South means a harvest of votes for the Republicans."

Another noticeable feature in the campaign is the unity and vigor of the Republican party. There are few or no divisions in their ranks, even in county organizations, and general harmony of sentiment and action prevails.

Without anticipating gains by the Republican party, we think we are fully justified, after a careful survey of the field, in stating that the political complexion of the next Congress will not be changed; nor will the Republican majority be so far reduced as to prevent Republican control on any important question.

Below we present the results of a careful review of the situation, an examination of which will, we think, bear us out in our conclusions. It will be understood that the remarks refer only to Representatives in the House, and not in any case to Senators.

The Vermont and Maine elections have gone Republican as usual, the latter with increased majorities.

On October 13 the elections will be held in Indiana, Ohio, Iowa, and Nebraska. Indiana has now ten Republican and three Democratic members in the House, and the present election will not change the ratio. Ohio has thirteen Republicans, six Democrats, and one Liberal in Congress. In that State politics are mixed on the liquor question,

but the Republicans anticipate no reduction in their Congressional representation—at all events of not more than two, while they are not unlikely to gain as many as they lose. Iowa will probably return a full delegation of Republican Representatives, though it is possible that the Anti-Monopolists may carry one or two close districts, in which case Democracy will gain nothing. Nebraska, it is believed, will again elect a Republican.

On the 21st of October South Carolina will elect five Congressmen. The present members are all Republicans; but the charges of corruption against Governor Moses, and of general extravagance by the State government, may tend to reduce the Republican representation in Congress.

West Virginia, on the 22d of October, will elect three Congressmen. The members now are two Republicans and one Democrat. The ratio may be reversed, but it is probable the first and second districts will return Republicans. In the third district Mr. Hall has withdrawn on account of failing health, and Hon. J. S. Witcher has been nominated in his place. The choice is a good one.

Louisiana elects six Congressmen on the 2d of November. Excepting the member at large the present delegation is Republican. There is an indication now that there will be a fair election throughout the State, and if so, the Republican representation will not probably be materially reduced.

The following States hold their elections on the 3d day of November:

Alabama has now five Republicans, two Democrats, and one Liberal in Congress. On account of the reign of terror inaugurated by the Democratic White League, it is difficult to predict the result of the election. However, in the face of intimidation, and even death itself, the Republicans are bold and firm in their efforts to preserve the State from anarchy, and the probability is that the Republican representation will be nearly as strong as in the present House, un-

less the system of outrages and intimidation shall be renewed.

Arkansas has two Republicans, one Democrat, and one Liberal in Congress. The Baxter-Brooks embroil, with the bloody co-operation of the White League and Ku Klux organizations, may reduce, and if continued unchecked will wipe out the Republican representation in Congress from that State.

Delaware sends one Representative. The present member is a Republican. The result of the coming election can not be predicted with safety. The present incumbent had a majority of only 332 votes.

Florida has two Representatives in Congress, both Republican. A Republican split in the first Congressional district has been amicably adjusted, and though the majorities in the last election were less than 2,000, no good reason is known why the Republicans may not carry the State.

Georgia has seven Democrats and two Republicans in Congress. The best that can be said for the State is that it is in the main disloyal, and there is little prospect that the Republican representation will be increased in numbers. It may be wiped out altogether.

Illinois has fourteen Republicans and five Democrats in Congress. These relative numbers will not probably be materially changed.

Kansas has three Republican Representatives in Congress. Politically no change favorable to the Democracy is anticipated.

Maryland's delegation is composed of four Democrats and two Republicans, each elected by nearly 2,000 majority. It is possible the Republicans may lose one of their Representatives.

Massachusetts is represented by eleven Republicans, and will probably be so again. There is nothing to indicate a political change.

Michigan has a full delegation of nine Republican Representatives in Congress. Possibly there may be a political change.

in one district, though we think the full representation will not be broken.

Minnesota has three Republican and no Democratic Representatives now in Congress, and will not lose more than one, if any.

Missouri has nine Democrats and four Republicans in Congress. Parties and politics are somewhat mixed in the State, and the result of the election can not safely be predicted. The People's Party—a new organization—and the Republicans have united, and the probability is that the Bourbon representation in Congress will not be increased.

Nevada has one Representative—a Democrat—in Congress. It is claimed that he will be succeeded by a Republican; but local affairs are mixed, and results are uncertain.

New Jersey has six Republican and one Democratic Representative, with apparently no probability of a political change in the complexion of her representation.

New York has twenty-four Republicans, eight Democrats, and one Liberal in Congress. The State Republican organization is thoroughly united and enthusiastic, and Republican gains will at least be equal to the losses.

Pennsylvania has twenty-two Republicans and five Democrats in Congress. The election will not change the political status of the representation, or, if it does, it is as likely to be in favor of the Republicans as otherwise.

Rhode Island will return two Republicans, her full representation, as usual.

Texas has now and will again have a full Democratic representation of six members in the House.

Virginia has five Democrats and four Republicans in Congress. The Republican representation will probably be numerically reduced, though under judicious management and unity of action there would be no necessity for such a result.

Wisconsin has six Republicans and two Democrats in Congress. The former

party may lose one district, but it is possible that they will hold their own and add the fifth district. Much will depend upon united energy in the campaign and individual effort.

Tennessee is now represented by seven Republicans and three Democrats. The coming election will reduce the Republican representation, but to what extent can not now be safely predicted.

The above enumeration embraces all the elections to take place this fall. Mississippi does not elect until November, 1875. She has now five Republicans and one Democrat in the House.

Our conclusions, as expressed above, may not in all cases prove to be correct, but if we have erred it is in conceding better results to the opposition than will be realized. Very much, however, will depend upon judicious, united, and persevering efforts during the remaining days of the campaign.

The present contest is one of more than usual importance. The Congressmen returned by these elections will be our Federal Representatives during the first centenary epoch in the nation's history. In the mean time important and grave questions are pressing upon the National Councils for adjustment. Justice to the individual and collective interests and a spirit of patriotism demand that these questions shall be disposed of, and that our national affairs be placed in such a condition as to bear inspection and command the world's approval, if not its admiration, at the period of passing the initial centenary time-mark in our national progress.

The developments made in the Democratic platforms of the present campaign reveal a marvelous diversity of views, some of them embodying strange and dangerous schemes in reference to the questions of currency, revenues, the tariff, and the payment of the national debt. The duty, therefore, of fidelity to these and other great public interests is pressing upon the attention of the public mind the necessity of sending

our very best men to Congress; and this involves the obligation of every citizen, under a patriotic feeling of individual responsibility to his country, to contribute as he can of his time, means, and

personal presence and influence, to the general effort for the election of able, upright men to the Federal Congress—the National Council-Board of the States.

THE DECAY OF NEW ORLEANS.

It is not a new thing for the inhabitants of a city, or of a whole country, to attribute its decadence to political causes and to charge upon government all the ills that befall it. But it is well to keep in mind that an active, energetic, virtuous people seldom, if ever, permanently suffer to a great extent in their social or commercial relations solely in consequence of an objectionable political status. Without discussing the details or merits of the present political complications and dead-lock in Louisiana, it can not be ignored that a large portion of the evils complained of in that State would exist if Kellogg had never been recognized as its Governor, or if he were to resign to-day. In the first place there is an element in the population of the city of New Orleans that assumes that city to be *the State*, the same as it is said Paris is France. The present is not the first time that the Crescent City has embroiled the whole State by riots and revolutions by putting on foot marauding and filibustering expeditions against foreign countries with which the United States was at peace—by sacking the houses of foreign consuls, whose domicile by all civilized peoples is entitled to sacred protection and safeguard. It is hardly necessary at this time to revert to the violent revolutionary acts done in this city that precipitated the State into rebellion against the National Government, without consulting the wishes of the citizens at large, and which, imitating the bloody *role* of the French people by the erection of barricades, again has lately improvised a *coup d'état*. The fact is, there is a turbulent spirit of unrest existing there, entirely foreign to American principle

and practice and against the spirit and genius of our laws. This country wants no such element either to control the administration of affairs in times of quiet, or to assert its influence to redress grievances, be they real or imaginary, and the sooner the fact is well understood the better it will be for the people of Louisiana and the whole South. It is this unsettled belligerent portion of the Southern people that keeps alive much of the apprehension that exists that the Federal Government or the people at large desire to oppress any portion of the country which prevents immigration, puts a stop to travel, stays the wheels of commerce, closes manufactures and workshops. These are some of the effects of the discontent that is fostered in New Orleans, and that has prevailed there ever since the close of the war. But there are other circumstances which, however, are only in part relatively connected with the disturbed state of society, and which are in a measure the ground-work of most of the complaints of the business portion of the community of New Orleans. These circumstances are in turn sometimes the effect and sometimes the cause of the evils that exist. New Orleans has lost a great portion of her trade; her commercial standing has deteriorated partly by natural, partly by artificial causes. The energy and enterprise of other cities that build railroads through the heart of the country that was hitherto entirely tributary to the entrepot of the Mississippi river have created a revolution in trade; formerly the streams that flowed downward and emptied into this great river floated naturally all the products of the vast area of country which they

drained into the lap of the principal commercial city of the great Southwest, and it became essentially a depot built out of the river trade. Railroads built in the last decade have totally changed the course of commerce, and practically the trade of the States of Arkansas, Texas, Mississippi, and parts of Louisiana now flows up the great stream of the Mississippi to Memphis, Louisville, Evansville, Cincinnati, and notably to Saint Louis. These cities have with railroads tapped every available commercial point, pierced every valley that formerly fed the commerce of New Orleans, and naturally diminished her trade. The establishment of internal ports of entry in what was hitherto called the inland cities of the great West has also largely contributed to this state of affairs; goods can now be imported and pass without breaking bulk to the numerous Western cities of the great Mississippi and Ohio valleys.

Most, if not all, of this import trade but a very few years back belonged to New Orleans. Added to this a not inconsiderable rival has risen in the growing port of Galveston, which city naturally uses every effort to control the foreign trade of the State of Texas. It is impossible to state statistically to what extent the commerce of New Orleans has been permanently injured by the interior custom-houses, they having been established for too short a time, many of them, such as at Pittsburg, Chicago, Cincinnati, &c., importing their heavy goods through Canada. The direct foreign trade of these and other enterprising Western cities in hardware, crockery, coffee, wines, &c., forms now no inconsiderable part of their commerce. This is all their gain, and most part of it a complete and serious loss to New Orleans which can never be regained. Her merchants have not yet awakened to the realization of the causes that have wrested from her this most valuable element of her former prominent commercial position, of which for so long a period she had control amounting almost to a

monopoly. Because the railroads built through the States that were most exclusively their customers have taken away from them the commerce with those regions it is sought to blame political complications for the loss. The fact is, they must wake up to the logic of events, keep pace with the progress of events, and not strive by denunciation and raising false issues to stay the onward march of the country. A new seaboard has been created by the system of establishing the inland ports of entry and a new great network of lines of transportation disputes and rivals the power of the great father of waters. To meet these changes of which the energetic people of the great West take advantage, if even they are not creations of their zeal and enterprise, New Orleans must change her mode of doing business or her prestige is lost forever. As a necessary consequence of this revolution in commerce, New Orleans finds, too, her great cotton trade passing away into other hands. Men of capital and energy in Boston, New York, Saint Louis, Cincinnati, and other cities are now competing for precedence in handling the great staple. King cotton that had its court in New Orleans now finds its dominion extended all over the Union. Telegraphic cyphers conduct its mandates from various rival cities to European marts, and a flotilla of ships move by electric commands issued after lightning consultation between Hamburg and New York, Boston and Liverpool. Thus New Orleans sinks practically into a mere commission agency or broker's office, with correspondents obedient alone to a mystic but potent cable message. It is useless to ignore the fact that the control of cotton is no more in New Orleans than in New York. Resident correspondents for their principals buy it, load it on ships or cars owned and managed by Eastern capital, which receives all the profit immediately after it leaves tide-water, or is steamed away to reach the spinners' looms in six or seven days.

It is in vain to charge these changes

in commerce to the reconstruction acts of Congress or to political complications; the trade that was the bone and sinew of New Orleans' prosperity is in a transition state, and no amount of argument will arrest the change. No ostrich policy will prevail; the emergency must be met logically, as all emergencies should be. No matter who is Governor of Louisiana commerce will obey its own laws. Seeing that, in a measure, trade is leaving the water courses, other cities that mainly depended on river trade promptly met the issue. Cincinnati twice bridged the Ohio and is now contemplating a third span to connect it with their great projected Southern railroad and give an outlet to the steel highways that converge in her vicinity. Saint Louis has just completed one of the greatest structures of the world, spanning the Mississippi with a work the very contemplation of which wasthought but the idle dream of a visionary.

Louisville invites trade to her doors by building a causeway over the Falls of Ohio, in fact everything points to the fact that the water courses of the great West are in the future to be but adjuncts of transportation. Thus trade is diverted from cities that alone depend on their commerce floated to their wharves. Under such circumstances even a Venice has decayed, and under this state of affairs of course New Orleans finds a natural depreciation of real estate. What has been only briefly set forth is the primary and underlying real cause of the distress of her merchants, and no one knows it better than they do themselves. In part, probably, it is true, political troubles may contribute to this condition or aggravate it, but such influence is but temporary and would in time cure itself; the citizen merchants of New Orleans see with dismay cotton exchanges established in New York, Boston, Cincinnati, St. Louis, and other cities selling the staple consigned to them over steam highways, and ungenerously charge this as the result of unfriendly legislation, without reflecting that the revolu-

tionary elements existing in their midst have in a measure caused the creation of these marts, so they have largely contributed to kill the goose that laid them golden eggs. To complain of municipal, State, or federal mismanagement in the premises is to raise a false issue and will not mend matters. Let politicians manipulate as they please, commercial men should leave demagogues to plan and execute their own machinations; they should be let severely alone, business men should regulate their own affairs according to the times, and as required by the changed aspect consequent on inevitable improvements.

If every railroad communication with the Mississippi were cut off, if all the telegraphic wires were severed, and all the interior custom-houses were abolished, then, in spite of bad laws or good laws, New Orleans would flourish as in the good old times, but until all this is done she will have to succumb to her blind adherence to the ancient *regime*, or must keep step to the march of improvement in commerce.

THE Hon. Gerrit Smith has issued a letter entitled "Our first duty is to keep down the Democracy." He says: "I am asked by one and another whether I am in favor of a third term for General Grant. My invariable answer is that I am in favor of anything and everything which will serve to keep the Democratic party out of power. If his renomination is essential to this end, then by all means let it come—yes, and come as often as there shall be like occasion for it. Better anything, better everything, than the ruin that would befall our country from the ascendancy of the party which sympathized with the rebels in the late rebellion, and with their malignant purpose to perpetuate slavery, and which still cherishes its traditional hatred of the black man. The slaughter of the innocent still going on at the South is due to this hatred, as was all Kukluxism, as was the negro murdering mob of 1863 in New York, as was every one of the pro-slavery mobs that disgraced the North. "Whether the outbreak against our colored brethren be at the North or at the South, the Democratic party is its inspiration, its soul and sustenance."

NEW YORK STATE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

The Republican Convention of New York State met on the 23d September, in the Opera House at Utica, N. Y., at 11 o'clock A. M. Hon. Theodore Pomeroy, of Utica, was nominated and, by acclamation, elected temporary chairman. On taking the chair he made an eloquent speech on Democratic demoralization as shown by their State platforms and acts in New York. He then referred to the achievements of the party in power, the successful administration of President Grant, and his action in reference to the Louisiana insurrection.

After the transaction of business and a short recess, Hon. Edwin D. Morgan was elected permanent chairman of the convention. On being conducted to the platform he delivered an able address on the current issues.

RENOMINATION OF THE WHOLE STATE TICKET.

Governor Dix was renominated by acclamation amid great enthusiasm, the entire audience rising and standing in respect to the Governor for his faithful services in the past.

The entire State ticket was then renominated with great unanimity.

A very able address was delivered by Senator Conkling, in which he referred to

THE CONDITION OF AFFAIRS IN LOUISIANA.

He said one of the catch sayings of our opponents has long been that the mission of the Republican party is ended, that its work was done when slavery and rebellion fell. Have you ever thought how senseless this cry is now? Look abroad in the land, take up one by one the grave public questions, and tell me which one of them would be safe without the Republican party and a Republican President. Look over the South, from the border States to the Gulf—you see prostration, demoralization, discontent. These things are, in part, the inevitable effect of a vast sad war, a war forced on the nation, and brought on themselves

by the white people of the South, misguided and deluded by the leaders of the Democratic party. I say the existing troubles of the South came of war and its changes and havoc in part, and only in part. Much of the difficulty has more recent cause. The worst present woes of the Southern people come from the lamentable and suicidal course of men who have been freely forgiven by the nation for one of the bloodiest crimes in the book of time. When the armies of the South had surrendered, and the State governments had been set up, no man, not even Jefferson Davis, was denied the right to vote. All could vote, all could take part in rebuilding their shattered interests; indeed, the fact that all could vote was a grievance to those who still hated the Union. There was another cause of complaint. By the votes of three-fourths of all the States, in their Legislatures, the ringleaders, who had taken and broken an oath besides committing treason, were not allowed to hold office till relieved by Congress; and let me here remind you that not one who asked to be relieved has ever been refused. But even this, even a postponement of the time when those who planned the rebellion might resume their places in Congress, was deemed an affront too grievous to be borne. Such at least was the pretext, and they set to work to make the worst of their local affairs. They refused to help, they refused to aid in electing reliable men to their Legislatures and to public office. They exerted themselves to deter capable men from accepting office or taking the part that citizens owe in a free Government.

Social ostracism, persuasion, and still worse means were brought to bear to prevent all who had sympathized with secession from joining in restoring order and prosperity in the reconstructed States. The avowed purpose was to leave everything to the carpet-baggers and the niggers, as they called the victims of their long opposition, in the hope that

in this way they might bring such odium on the measures which had given the black loyalist the ballot—that political reaction at the North would again seat them in the places from which they had vaulted into rebellion, and make them again masters of the situation. Thus far the plot has failed. The North did not react. The Democratic party reacted, a few sound men not Democrats reacted, a few honestly mistaken Republicans reacted, but the Republican party bravely and steadfastly upheld the cause of humanity and fair play, and triumph in the idea that all men who stood by the flag in the dark hour, all who prayed or worked or fought on the nation's side, should wear the citizenship which has been saved and earned in battle by black as well as white. The obstinate obstruction policy of the Southern leaders, missing its aim, has wounded its inventors. Ignorant men, weak men, venal men, have seized the opportunity to work their way into places of trust and power. Bad legislation, excessive taxation, unwise and profligate administration, with their trains of evil, have ensued, and now what do we see? Do the authors of all this mischief relent? Is it proposed by lawful, peaceful means to right these wrongs? Not at all; but violence, bloodshed, and revolution are the attempted remedy. White Leagues, Ku Klux, and a war of races. These are remedies—a sort of despotism tempered by assassination. Look at Louisiana's uncounted murders which have stained her soil since last July. What is the special complaint there? Why, that Kellogg was counted in as Governor, when in the truth McEnery was elected. Suppose he was. We in New York have known equal wrongs. It is an open secret now that John T. Hoffman was counted in as Governor when John A. Griswold was elected. We did know then that in two cities 30,000 were falsely added to the count, but we had far more conclusive evidence that Mr. Hoffman was not elected than has yet been discovered in the case of Mr. Kellogg. But

we did not organize armed and masked bands to murder and to burn. We did not compel Federal, State, and county officers to resign on promise of sparing their lives, and then murder them in cold blood. We did not slay women and children by the light of their blazing homes. Finally, we did not seize by force the capital of the State, shoot down the police, barricade the streets, and inaugurate a reign of terror on the ruins of the law. Yet all this has just happened in Louisiana. The tidings flashed through the land, and as on the ship all the men turned to the captain in the storm, so the nation turned to the President, and asked: "Watchman, what of the night?" Promptly came answer from the firm soldier and quiet magistrate, who never yet blanched in the presence of danger, and never shirked a responsibility which was cast upon him. In a few words he gave the insurgents five days to undo their work as far as their deeds could be undone, and at the same time he made such orders for the disposition of troops as gave a grim warning that at the end of five days the beak and claw of national power would tear in pieces the fabric of lawlessness and riot. This warning was enough. Rebels knew Grant. They did not wait for even a regiment. They were willing to take his word for it, and to stop if he would. Thirteen years before a Democratic President, had he been inspired by a like spirit, might have stayed the rising tide of revolution which deluged a continent with blood. Had Buchanan been Grant in 1860, and had Grant been Buchanan in 1874, the fate of both occasions might have been reversed. Had insurrection triumphed last week, there is not a Southern State in which White Men's Leagues, "a war of races," and a bloody grapple for the ballot-box and the State government would not have been the order of the day.

After Senator Conkling's speech, which was applauded for some time, Hon. Edwards Pierrepont said:

On behalf of the Committee on Reso-

lutions, I beg leave to present the following resolutions as the result of their deliberations.

THE PLATFORM.

The Republicans of New-York, in convention assembled, accept the following resolutions:

First—That the Republicans of New-York reaffirm the principles so often approved by the people, and point to the vast achievements of their party as a pledge that it is equal to every new requirement.

Second—That we demand obedience to the laws and protection of every citizen in the enjoyment of his rights against the assaults of Kuklux assassins and White League revolutionists, who are encouraged by every Democratic success; the protection to be given by the States, if they can and will, but if the States fail, then by the General Government, in strict conformity with the Constitution and the laws.

Third—That an armed attempt to subvert the recognized Government of the State is revolution, and revolution must be suppressed, and the supremacy of the law maintained, at any and every cost.

Fourth—That the public faith must be preserved inviolate, and the public debt be paid in coin.

Fifth—That we oppose any inflation of the public currency, and indorse the President's veto of the inflation act. And we are in favor of an early return to specie payments, and of such action on the part of the Government as will speedily secure that result.

Sixth—That taxation, whether national or State, whether direct or indirect, should be kept at the lowest practicable point permitted by economical administration and the requirements of the public credit, and should be so adjusted as to bear equally on all classes.

Seventh—That the Administration of President Grant has been true to its pledges, and distinguished by achievements in domestic and foreign policy unsurpassed in the history of the country.

Eighth—That the administration of Governor Dix, in its purity, dignity, and wisdom, has fulfilled the highest expectation of the people, and we point especially to the management of the State finances, as showing the wide difference between Republican and Democratic rule; which Democratic rule was such in its profligacy as not only to consume all the heavy taxes paid by the over-burdened people, but also to take \$6,500,000 from the sacred deposit of

the sinking fund, which the Republican administration has now made good and increased the sinking fund from \$1,000,000 to more than \$15,000,000, thus relieving the people of that vast indebtedness.

REMARKS OF MR. PIERREPONT.

After reading these resolutions, Mr. Pierrepont said:

Since these resolutions were passed in committee I learned from Controller Hopkins that we have made this error. Instead of stating it at \$15,000,000 it should have been stated at \$17,000,000. As I have no authority to change a word of the resolutions, I leave it at this moderate figure; and now, gentlemen, in our committee a gentleman from New York, Mr. Isaac H. Bailey, presented certain views in relation to the Democratic party of such importance, so tersely, so vigorously and well expressed, that we concluded to stop our resolutions here and have Mr. Bailey's address, if it please you, read to the convention as a kind of amplification of these resolutions.

The resolutions were carried by acclamation.

ADDRESS OF MR. ISAAC H. BAILEY.

Mr. Isaac H. Bailey was loudly applauded in coming forward. He said:

In accordance with the wishes of the convention, I beg leave to read the address referred to by Mr. Pierrepont.

He then read as follows:

I. We affirm our faith in the Republican party. It is the party of liberty and justice; it has made the declaration that "all men are created equal," a living truth; it has crushed rebellion, preserved the Union, and maintained the national honor untarnished; it has put into the Constitution full and final guarantees of human rights; it has conducted war, diplomacy, and Government on a scale as vast, and amid difficulties as grave, as are to be found in the history of nations; and its career has been marked by wisdom, courage, and truth. Like every successful organization it has not been wholly free from knavish parasites, but it has purged itself of them as fast as they were unmasked. The mission of the Republican party, however, is not completed. Its continued ascendancy is vital, so long as any citizen, white or black, is insecure in his personal and political rights. During its toils and trials it has been suddenly opposed by a party false to freedom in peace, false

to the flag which bore the name but not the spirit of Democracy, and which finally in national convention confessed itself wrong on all the great issues on which it had fought and been beaten.

II. The Administration of President Grant deserves the hearty approval of all patriots. Its foreign policy has secured pacific relations with all the Powers of the earth on conditions creditable alike to our sense of rectitude and our pride of country. Its domestic management has effected a great reduction of taxes, the payment of fifteen per cent. of the national debt, a substantial appreciation of Government securities, and a decided advance toward specie payments. The national debt on March 1, 1869, was \$2,525,463,260 01; July 1, 1874, \$2,143,088,241 16, showing a decrease in five years of \$382,375,018 85. In 1869 the annual interest on the debt was \$126,389,550; in 1874 it was \$98,796,004 44, showing a decrease in the yearly expenditures for that object of \$27,593,545 56. In May, 1869, the Treasury purchased its own bonds of the par of \$100 for the sinking fund at the rate of 82 72-100 gold. The market value of the same bonds in September, 1874, is 104 $\frac{1}{2}$, a rise of twenty-five and a half per cent. In March, 1869, gold was at a premium of thirty-two per cent., in September, 1874, nine and a half per cent. The appropriations of 1874 were reduced \$20,000,000, and thus a further levy of taxation, in time of general embarrassment was prudently averted.

III. While differences of opinion on questions of finance must inevitably exist, and should be generally tolerated, there are certain truths established by laws of political economy and the teachings of experience. Among them the cardinal one is, that specie is the only standard by which values can accurately be measured. We hold the legal-tender act, having been resorted to in a critical emergency, should be regarded as a temporary expedient; that an early restoration of specie payments is essential to the permanent welfare of the country, and that the veto by the President of the currency bill was a judicious and commendable exercise of his high prerogative.

IV. The faith of the nation is irreversibly pledged to the redemption of the public debt in coin. That pledge was made anew by the people at the Presidential election of 1868. The Democratic national convention of that year, held on the 4th of July in Tammany Hall, in New York, declared and pledged

its candidates to the doctrine of paying the nation's debts in paper currency. The Republican convention of the same year declared in favor of paying the nation's debts in coin—the money of the world. The country established the Republican creed by making choice of its nominees. In harmony with this expression of the popular will, General Grant said in his first inaugural message the Government indebtedness should be paid in gold. In March, 1869, both houses of Congress, by a two-thirds vote, enacted a law in conformity to this mandate of the people. Henceforth the obligation was binding upon all the inhabitants of the United States. Upon its faith securities were bought and sold, at home and abroad, and any attempt to evade it is an act of flagrant dishonesty. The Democratic State conventions of this year in Ohio, Indiana, Missouri, and Nebraska, recommending its abrogation, have shocked the moral sense of the nation.

V. We deprecate the spirit of caste which has wrought such evil in the South; first, in precipitating it into rebellion, and after that was suppressed, in rendering its white citizens averse to accepting the obvious conditions of emancipation. Recognition of the political equality of the freedman was the paramount duty of the Government. To deny the ballot to those who had fought for the flag, when not a man arrayed against it was disfranchised, would have been inexpedient and unjust. Practically the amnesty laws have been universal, for while a few of the leaders were prohibited from holding office, there is no instance where the removal of this disability has been refused when asked for. For whatever of misrule there has been in the secession States, since hostilities ceased, the blame rests chiefly upon the white citizens, who, by declining to participate in the work of reconstruction, and holding themselves hautly aloof from interference in their local affairs, suffered them to fall under the control of strangers and adventurers.

VI. The recent outrages upon unoffending colored men, women, and children in the Southern States are without provocation or palliation. The atrocious massacres in Tennessee and Louisiana have few parallels in any age for ferocity and barbarity. Their perpetrators should be brought to swift and exemplary punishment. It is the duty of the local authorities, if they fail in meting out justice to the offenders, to invoke the

aid of the Federal Government. Safety of persons and property, and the undisturbed enjoyment of suffrage, are rights of which the humblest citizen must not be deprived. It is a striking exemplification of the law of cause and effect that Democratic successes in the North have been speedily followed by acts of violence in the South. Whenever a Northern State has temporarily swerved from her allegiance to Republicanism, we have forthwith heard of the formation of Ku Klux gangs and White Leagues, of acts of ruffianism and brutality in the South fatal to peace and reconciliation.

VII. Any attempt to subvert by violence a duly recognized State government is an act of lawlessness demanding summary repression, as the outbreak of the same spirit that led to secession. Frauds upon the ballot and the intimidation of voters should be corrected and punished, but only by constitutional and legal methods.

VIII. The watchfulness of President Grant over his public interests is conspicuously shown in the vetoes of bills providing for the payments of claims for losses alleged to have been incurred during the rebellion. The pressure of claimants of this class has already become formidable, the Democratic party having indicated their sympathy with disloyal citizens who have claims against the Government. First, by their persistent opposition to the adoption of the fourteenth article of the Constitution, which forbids the payment of the rebel debt and all compensation for slave property, and by their refusal in Congress and elsewhere to recognize the validity of that amendment by clamoring for a refunding of the tax on cotton; by demanding the opening of the Court of Claims to all citizens of the South for the prosecution of claims for cotton and other property seized and sold, the proceeds of which were paid into the public Treasury; by insisting that all stores and supplies taken for the use of the Union army should be paid for without regard to the loyalty of the persons holding such claims. In view of the fact that 22,000 persons claiming to have remained loyal adherents to the cause of the Government of the United States have prepared demands against the Government for more than \$60,000,000, the conclusion is inevitable that the restoration of that party to power would expose the National Treasury to innumerable demands, aggregating hundreds of millions of dollars. The injurious consequences of this change of policy would

be threefold. It would inflict grievous burdens upon the public Treasury, attract to the capital a gigantic lobby, with its attendant evils of corruption, profligacy, and inducements to perjury, and tempt the men of the South to endeavor to recruit their fortunes by appeals for Government aid, rather than by a manly resort to the industry which can alone insure thrift.

IX. In order that the products of the country may command their full value, it is essential that the facilities for transportation should be ample and reliable at the lowest possible rates, and legislation tending to promote these ends exercised within the constitutional powers of the States, and with a proper regard for the rights of all, is legitimate and expedient.

X. The serious blow which the commerce of the country suffered last year from causes which no administration could prevent would have been fraught with far greater disaster but for the confidence in Government securities, which the Republican party have established all over the world. The abundant harvests of Europe this year, and the general tendency toward caution and retrenchment may, for a time, retard the full revival of business; but no embarrassments afflict trade which Democratic restoration would not aggravate. We urge upon Congress the duty of promoting the recovery of business interests by the restoration of a sound condition of national finances, and, with that end in view, adopt legislative measures for resumption of specie payment and by persistence in revising and simplifying the revenue system. The management of State affairs under the administration of Governor Dix has been eminently satisfactory, and deserves the popular approbation which has been so generally accorded to it. Not only has rigid economy in expenditures been observed, but the sinking fund, whence \$6,500,000 had been withdrawn by the preceding Democratic administration, has been made good and increased to \$15,000,000, the full amount required by law. Important amendments to the Constitution, proposed by an able commission consisting of men of both political parties, are to be submitted to the people at the ensuing election. The form in which they are to be voted upon favors the exercise of a discriminating judgment as to their merits, and the source from whence they emanate, and the improvement of which they give promise entitle them

to the attentive consideration of all the electors in the State.

George H. Bliss, of New York, moved the adoption of Mr. Bailey's address, and that it be added to the resolutions, which was carried.

Mr. Remington, of St. Lawrence, moved an adjournment, with three cheers for Dix and Robinson.

The proposition was unanimously adopted, and the convention adjourned with hearty cheers for the ticket.

SOUTHERN OUTRAGES.

The following record of crime is without a parallel even in the days of the Inquisition. It embraces but a portion of the recent atrocities, and probably not a tithe of all that have been committed since the United States granted a general amnesty to their authors. There is no justice for the victims or their friends. When a colored man kills a white man in the South he is promptly arrested, and either tried and executed or hanged without trial by a vindictive mob. When a white man kills a negro, the offender is carefully guarded from violence, furnished with excellent counsel, and generally escapes with no further punishment than the loss of his time and the inconvenience of an arrest. We make the following assertions with the confident belief that they can not be truthfully gainsayed:

1. That since the war no negro in the South convicted of murdering a white man has escaped hanging.

2. That during the same time no white man guilty of murdering a negro has been hung for the offense.

ALABAMA.

We intend to beat the negro in the strife, the warfare, the unending battle for life, and defeat means but one thing—extermination!—*Birmingham, Alabama, News.*

July 4.—At Clintonville, Coffee county, the 4th of July last, the colored people were holding a "Sunday-school meeting." Large numbers of men, women, and children were present, when a body of white men rode up, and without saying a word, opened a deadly fire on the assemblage. Two were killed and six badly wounded.

The Hons. Adam C. Felder and Wm. H. Seawell, two prominent white Republicans, were shot at in Greenville, Alabama, at night in July last, on their return from the court-house, where they

had been making Republican speeches. They were also "rotten-egged" and otherwise insulted. Their lives were saved by the timely arrival of the sheriff and his posse.

August 1.—Walter P. Billings, a young and promising lawyer, was riding on horseback home from a Republican meeting, at five o'clock in the afternoon, when, in passing through a piece of woods within half a mile of his house, he was shot by assassins lying in ambush. He and his horse were found dead on the road in the morning. His money and watch were untouched.

The Kuklux of Livingston openly threaten that if Greata, the law partner of Billings, or Captain Wells, the brother-in-law of the murdered man, ever return there that they shall never get away alive!

Hon. Charles Hays, member of Congress, says: "On or about August 1 a company of whites ambushed a party of negroes returning from church, killed ten and wounded thirteen."

"Again, Green Lewis, colored route agent on the Selma and Meridian railroad, was warned that if he continued to run on that road they would murder him. I had his route changed to save his life.

"Again, Hon. Joseph H. Speed, Superintendent of Public Instruction, was attacked and beaten by a mob at Marion, Alabama, because he had that day made a Republican speech in the town."

August 7.—Mr. Hays says: "In Carrollton, Pickens county, four colored men, who were supposed to be "emissaries" sent to post the negroes on their rights, were taken, the third week in August, from their cabins, and hung by the roadside. This deed was perpetrated in open daylight by a body of unmasked white men."

On the 20th of August, 1874, the bodies of three men, two colored and one white, were discovered floating down the Tombigbee river lashed to some logs. When found the bodies were badly de-

composed, and their personal identity to this day remains undiscovered. The white man had a placard pinned to his neck saying: "This is the way we treat Dutch niggers," evidently alluding to the nativity of the man, who seemed to be a German. The other two were placcarded, "To Mobile, with the compliments of Pickens county."

August 20.—Hon. John J. Martin, Sixth Auditor of the Treasury Department, is a native Southern man. Prior to the war he was one of the largest slaveholders in Alabama, and belonged to a family whose history has been blended with that of the State from the time it was a Territory up to the present date. He has held various positions of honor and trust in the State, was a Union man all through the bloody scenes of the rebellion, and is noted for his urbanity, politeness, and gentle manners. On the 20th of August he visited Alabama to attend the State Republican Convention. While there the Democratic paper, published in the town where he had lived for many years, advised his old friends to have nothing to do with him, that he was a Radical, and must be treated with "that scorn and contempt he so rightly deserved for allying himself with the Radical party."

August 26.—In Greensboro, Hale county, the colored people have two or three purely benevolent societies. This evening the meeting of one of these societies was waited upon by a body of white men, and notified that they must not meet again—"that they were devising means to murder the whites." Instantly and peacefully the colored men and women dispersed to their homes, and in this way prevented another bloody riot, where the "black man invariably is in the wrong, and always gets killed."

August 26.—James Bliss, an inoffensive colored man, was a delegate from one of the country precincts of Sumter county to the late Republican State Convention. Wednesday night a body of masked men visited his house, but Bliss, seeing them, had fled. They searched in vain for the "Radical nigger," but told his family they would return again. The result is, Bliss has fled from the country.

August 24.—The Meridian *Mercury*, (Dem.) gives an account of the killing of five negroes in North Sumter. Nothing is known as to why these negroes were killed. They were all shot. The correspondent of the *Mercury*, writing from Gainesville, Ala., August 26, 1874, facetiously remarks

that "two of the crowd went dead in a cornfield." This Democratic correspondent concludes his article as follows: "All these deaths occurred on the 24th, except the negro woman, who was killed early on the morning of the 25th."

August 27.—In Wacoche Valley, Russell county, on Thursday night, August 27, the negroes were holding a protracted religious meeting in Ebenezer Church. The services were interrupted by a body of men, who called the preachers out and told them "they (the whites) understood the negroes were preparing to have an insurrection." This the colored men denied, and invited the white men to remain there, and come regularly to see that they were only holding religious meetings. The whites refused, and ordered the meeting broke up. This was immediately done. Many of the colored men and women were cruelly beaten and whipped that night on their way back home. The same night this church, another for colored people a mile distant, and a school-house for colored people were burned.

Hon. Charles Pelham, Macon county, member of Congress from the Third District, was compelled, a few weeks since, to escape from the town of Tuskegee at night to save his life. He was warned of the danger by a faithful negro, and jumped from his window and fled to the railroad, six miles distant. They intended to murder him, because he had been elected and had voted as a Republican at the last session of Congress.

A band of masked men went to a cabin on the farm of J. W. Bell, five miles from Elton, where Isham Link and two other men and a boy, all colored, were sleeping. They demanded entrance, forced open the door, and fired into the cabin, the shot entering the abdomen of the boy in bed. Link, the object of their malice, was dragged out into a field, where his body was riddled with balls.

August 28.—A train on the Albemarle and Chattanooga railroad was stopped at York, Alabama, by a false signal; a band of armed men entered the mail car and shot the colored mail agent (Ivey) in cold blood.

In Lee county three colored churches were burned, and three or four negroes seriously injured.

In Livingston, Mr. Allen, a hotel-keeper, was brutally beaten because he dared to say he was a Republican.

Not far from the scene of the above

outrages, a band of Kuklux assassins attacked a party of defenseless negroes and proceeded to their work of death as if the poor negroes were but beasts. Fortunately two of the negroes were armed, and returned the fire of the Kuklux. The result was quite encouraging. One of the infamous band was killed outright and another dangerously wounded. No one can tell the name of the man who was killed, but the wounded man is Joe Stallworth, a vagabond scoundrel, whose career as a drunken loafer and miserable nuisance is well known in Choctaw county, where he once resided.

Within the last ten days no less than fourteen murders have been committed within an area of thirty miles of Meridian.

August 31.—At night Simon Edwards, living near Meridian, Lauderdale county, was taken from his house by a band of men, some ten or more in number, and most foully and brutally murdered. The murderers were arrested and brought before Justice Morris. The wife of the deceased testified to the fact of the attack on the cabin by armed men, who fired through the cracks in the wall, and who finally burst the door open, coming in with a lighted candle, seizing her husband, taking him out a distance of forty rods, and then, while two of the number held him, the balance of the party riddled his body with buckshot. Not being satisfied with this treatment, after the body was prostrated and lifeless, the head was beaten to a pulp. This is positive evidence, in opposition to which there is no rebuttal. This witness also identifies and points out in open court the parties accused as being among the number engaged in the killing of her husband. Justice Miller, "after a short argument by the counsel, announced that there is not a single scintilla of evidence to show that the parties are guilty, and, therefore, the defendants are honorably discharged."

On the same night, or rather the following morning, the body of Monroe Keeton, a young man living at Toomsuba, about thirteen miles distant, east of Meridian, and five or six miles from where the killing of Edwards took place, was found dead in front of the depot building.

Not only are murders and whippings resorted to, to effect a change in the politics of the negroes, but other means also, as will be seen from the following "notice," which was taken from a sign-board on the crossroads near Livingston,

Ala., and handed to Hon. Charles Hays, M. C., by a Democrat. It is one of many of like import, and is evidently intended to appeal to the well-known superstitious dread of the more ignorant colored people:

"WARNING!"

[A picture of a coffin.]

"The invisible monarch rules in Sumter, and watches the doings of his people from a little star above you. All 'niggers,' white and black, will take warning from the fate of Billings and Ivy. They were killed by unknown hands, which will never be known. Those hands will destroy again. Colored men who want to live in peace and be protected can do it by inquiring where they can sign the White Man's Constitution. 'Inquire,' and our monarch will send a man to you, who will have the 'roll.' Never vote the Radical ticket again. Sign and live. Refuse and die. Signed at the Spirit Land, at the hour of death, and by the graves of the dead.

V. V. V. V."

September 3.—An attempt was made on the night of the 3d inst. to assassinate United States Marshal Thomas. As he and another gentleman were returning from a political meeting, the assassin, who was concealed in the bushes by the roadside, shot at him as he passed, but owing to the darkness missed his aim. The active part Thomas has taken in the political campaign is supposed to be the cause of the cowardly act.

Mr. W. A. Lipscomb, of Marengo county, a most exemplary citizen and a Republican without reproach, was recently found on the roadside, near his residence, "riddled with bullets." Mr. Lipscomb was a delegate in the convention which renominated the Hon. Charles Hays for re-election to Congress from the 4th district of this State.

September 7.—A few weeks ago, Major John G. Stokes, formerly editor of the *Daily Journal* at Montgomery, Alabama, himself a Southern man and Confederate soldier, made a Republican speech in Greensboro, Hale county. That night he was warned (after his room in the hotel had been entered at one o'clock at night) by a band of pistolized and armed ruffians, that he must not visit the country again to make Radical speeches. Major Stokes is well known in Washington.

September 12—Greene county was invaded last Saturday—12th instant—by a band of armed men from Sumter. The pretense was that they were look-

ing for a certain colored man. Hearing, or professing to hear, that he was in the gin-house of old man Berry Browne, these chivalrous Christian White League Kuklux Democrats rode up to the aforesaid gin-house, and immediately opened fire upon it! Immediately four or five little children ran out of the gin-house and off to the woods. And when these valorous White League warriors had all left, the children that had ran off came back, and it was found that one had disappeared. Search was made, when the missing child was found in the gin-house *shot through the head!* Such, we are assured, is the terrorism now prevailing at some places in Greene, that hundreds of colored people have left and gone to the swamps for protection! And perhaps it was a body of these terror-stricken colored Republicans, who had fled from their homes for protection, that were so easily and quickly dispatched recently in the vicinity of Forkland. A letter before us, from a citizen of Greene County, whose only offense is that he will not quit the Republican party, exclaims: "Oh, God! how long will these wicked men be permitted to insult and outrage us, and make our lives a burden?"

September 29.—One of the special agents of the General Post Office Department, now in Alabama investigating the murder of Ivey, says in a letter to the Postmaster General: "The reign of terror existing in this (Sumter) county at present far exceeds anything of the kind I have ever seen. Armed bodies of men are riding over the country, and the colored people are afraid to go into the fields to save their crops from waste and ruin. The right of free speech is denied them, and many desire to return to slavery."

The Kuklux have openly proclaimed that no Republican meeting shall be held in Sumter county, and also that no Republican shall be permitted to canvass that county under penalty of death.

Although it is somewhat difficult to discriminate, yet to Sumter county may safely be conceded a larger amount of crime than there has, so far, been committed in any other county in the State. Going back a little we find the following terrible record: Daniel Price, elected clerk of the Sumter Circuit Court in 1868, was ordered to leave the county or be killed. He left.

George Houston, a republican member of the Legislature, was attacked while in his house in Livingston. His

son was badly wounded, and Houston was shot, but had to leave the county to save his own life!

There were shot and killed in Sumter, as follows:

Jasper Alexander, Enoch Boyd, Dr. Browning, Mr. Bryan, Richard Burke, Amanda Childers, Jerry Clarke, — Coblenz, Collins, Flem Cross' wife, Grattan, Dudley Hart, — Hoffer, mail agent, Dennis Pearl, Anthony Rodgers Royles, Scarborouhg, Silas Thurlough, Travis, Ezekiel Williams, Yankee Ben, Anderson Young—twenty-six in number.

There were shot and wounded in Sumter, as follows:

J. S. Etheridge, G. W. Houston, Houston's son, Alfred Jolly, Charles Powell, Robert Reid, Hayne Richardson, Enoch Sledge, Peter Stewart—nine in all.

There were whipped and tortured in Sumter, as follows:

John Childer, George A. Clarke, Danner Brown, Amanda Childer, G. A. Clark, Prince Evans, Mr. Suggatt, Charles T. Powell—numbering seven in all.

October 6.—The report of Captain Mills, in command of the company of United States troops which has arrived in Sumter county, Ala., was to-day received at the War Department. Captain Mills is in command of a company of the second infantry, which proceeded to Sumter county under the recent joint order of the War Department and the Attorney General.

Captain Mills states that armed men are constantly riding about the country, and that the inevitable consequence is the very general intimidation of the colored race, and insecurity to life and property. He adds that it is a disgrace to the Government and to civilization that such a condition of things exists, and suggests that further orders will be necessary if he is expected to restore peace in that section.

From other sources it is learned in Washington that the White League leaders in that county have already threatened the life of Captain Mills and the destruction of his entire command; which numbers only thirty men.

It is reliably ascertained that since the date of the last Kuklux report there have been sixty political murders in Sumter county.

The White League organization, well armed, equipped, and drilled, numbers at least 1,000 men in that county. They can be gathered in twenty-four hours'

notice. Within a few weeks there were 500 of them in a body assembled at one time at Gainesville, where they seized nineteen negroes on the pretense of resisting officers.

News has been received in Washington that the cotton-gin belonging to Judge Abrahams, of Sumter county, has been burned by the White Leaguers, with a loss of some \$10,000. Judge Abrahams is one of the three white Republicans in that county, and his only sin is that he has voted the Republican ticket. Billings, who was recently murdered, was killed after making a speech upon the plantation of Judge Abrahams.

ARKANSAS.

The Arkansas *Republican*, of Little Rock, has had a standing offer for the past two years to pay \$1,000 for evidence, in a single instance, where a Southern white man has ever been punished as the law directs for killing a negro. The offer remains untaken.

August 1.—A white man was murdered in Eagle township, near Little Rock. Abraham, a negro, was charged with the murder, and without evidence or probability of guilt he was seized, mounted on horseback, ostensibly to be carried to Little Rock for trial, with his feet fastened under the horse and his hands tied behind him. When on the way a *melee* was purposely started by those having him in charge, and he was shot under a pretense that the shot was fired from the bushes. Poor Abe was shot to pieces. Not satisfied with that, he was literally hashed up with their bayonets, rolled down the bank by the roadside, and left.

August.—A colored preacher named Cook Ross was taken from his church door in Lafayette county, at the close of the Sabbath services, by mounted and armed white men. He was ordered to walk off a few paces, when one of the party said: "I haven't killed a G-d d-n nigger son of a b-h for some time; now, take that." He was shot dead in the presence of his congregation.

August.—Saturday at midnight a party of White Leaguers went to the house of a colored widow in Tennessee township, and called out George, her only son, a harmless, industrious young man of 18 years of age, and a nephew of the widow, a young lad who was visiting his aunt. While crossing a field near the residence of Martin Burke the widow's son was shot, and the other escaped to the woods. Whether he was pursued and shot is yet unknown.

August.—Three leading colored men

were arrested on a trumped-up charge of petty larceny, and dragged to jail in Clarksville. At night they were taken to the woods by a gang of White Leaguers, a mile from town, and each received 600 lashes, with instructions to leave the county before daylight or they would be killed at sight. They were found next day with parts of their bodies pounded to a jelly and blood trickling from a hundred wounds.

August 4.—About sundown William Harris, his younger brother, and his brother-in-law, Skidmore, were taken a short distance from Roseville to a large oak tree, and hung on the same limb until dead. They had served in the Union army, and were murdered because they claimed to be Republicans. Mrs. Harris, mother of two of the victims and mother-in-law of the other, knowing the men who seized her sons, and believing that they intended to murder them, though sixty years of age, mounted a horse and followed them. She reached the scene of the tragedy just as they pulled her eldest son off the ground with the rope about his neck. She rushed up, and rising in the saddle, cut the rope where it passed around the limb, her son falling lifeless to the ground. The lady was thereupon seized by the savages, dragged from her horse by one wretch, and shot through the head by another, hauled out at one side in the brush, and a horse blanket thrown over her, while these worse than savages, more than canibals, proceeded to murder her children. Can the history of any tribe of barbarians on the face of the earth show an equally atrocious piece of devilish brutality?

August 21.—The Little Rock correspondent of the Chicago *Inter-Ocean* writes:

"There are not less than ten thousand as brave, loyal, and true men as ever breathed in the State of Arkansas tonight, huddled together with their wives and children, in silence and darkness, with bolted door and barred window, who would not, as they value their lives, dare to strike a match or light a candle lest they be shot down by prowling villains lurking outside."

September 2.—The Little Rock correspondent of the Philadelphia *Press* says: "Not less than an average of fifteen murders per week are committed upon Republicans in Arkansas, and for no other reason but because they are Republicans; and no one has been arrested for any of these murders."

GEORGIA.

Against the Republican party our hate must be unquenchable, our war interminable and merciless. Every Southern State should swarm with White Leagues, and we should stand ready to act the moment Grant signs the civil rights bill.—*Atlanta (Ga.) News.*

August 31.—“In Columbia county, Ga., Friday morning, the deputy sheriff and posse arrested four colored men named Doggett—the father and three sons—on a charge of riotous conduct. After proceeding some distance the prisoners attempted to run, when they were fired upon and killed. The coroner’s jury rendered a verdict of justifiable homicide.” Let half a dozen colored men murder a white man, as Doggett and his sons were murdered, and the whole South would be in a blaze.

September 17.—In Columbia county, a few days ago, two negro men, named West and Jim Lovelace, stole a bale of cotton from an old white man. The negroes were arrested and voluntarily submitted to a whipping. Subsequently an armed party called at Lovelace’s house, and not finding him proceeded to the house where an old negro man was staying, and shot him, and also shot a negro named Griffin in the hand, and killed Griffin’s wife.

KENTUCKY.

The shooter has only to kill or wound his man to make himself certain of escape. We never convict anybody of murder except a nigger or a pauper.—*Louisville Courier-Journal.*

September 1.—On Sunday night last, while the colored people on Grassy Lick, in Montgomery county, were at church, some unknown persons came to the door of the house during service and called a couple of darkies. No sooner were they outside than they were fired upon, both shots taking effect. Yesterday it was thought that they would die, as both were shot through the abdomen.

A few nights since a party of masked men went to the residence of Robert Wilson in Bullitt county, Ky., took him by force from his bed to a tree, where he was tied and lashed, each of the gang participating in administering the blows. The victim is a respectable white farmer, and no reason is assigned for the outrage.

September 1.—Willis Russel, deputy United States marshal, reports officially that “more than one hundred men have been killed, wounded, or driven away from that portion of Owen and Henry counties lying on the Kentucky river by the Ku Klux in the last three years. These have been mostly colored people,

although some white men are included.”

We find the following in the Lexington (Mo.) *Caucasian*, a leading Democratic paper:

“Kentucky’s criminal record rivals Missouri’s—and human language can award it no more appalling pre-eminence. Hell seems to have been upset and spilled all over the State. Its very sod is reeking with the blood of slaughter. Eleven murders, twenty-two shooting and stabbing affrays, and the wholesale killings and burnings at Lancaster, all in four weeks, and not one legal hanging in four times as long, is enough to blast, for a generation, the fame of any ordinary half dozen commonwealths, even though the bones of Clay and Crittenden reposed in each of them. It is a horrid blot upon Southern civilization. It gives a tinge of justice to the Yankee howl about our ruffianism, heathenism, barbarism. The true men of Kentucky should rise in the resistless might and majesty of right; crush out this hideous lawlessness at once and forever; rescue their State from reproach; and render the beautiful Blue Grass Realm what nature designed it to be, a Paradise instead of Pandemonium.”

LOUISIANA.

We have declared war against carpet-baggers and scalawags, and we are going to carry on that war, whether there be troops in Louisiana or not.—*Shreveport Times.*

August 29.—Six white State officers and six colored men were shot at Coushatta to make vacancies for White League officers to fill.

One of the last victims at Coushatta was the postmaster, Andrew Bosler. It is feared that the twenty-five colored men held by the mob have also been killed. Thus far twenty-one deaths are reported. A school teacher from Compte, by the name of Vandusen, has disappeared at Alexandria, and is doubtless murdered. His life had been threatened several times.

September 15.—The White Leaguers of New Orleans, assisted by their deluded followers, massacred forty to fifty citizens on the streets of New Orleans, took possession of the State House, and drove out the Governor and State officers.

LATER.—The total number of persons now ascertained to have been killed in the New Orleans fight on the 14th foots up fifteen citizens and thirty-five policemen. The wounded include thirty-two citizens and forty-two policemen.

September 17.—At St. Francisville Rev. J. R. Watson, a peaceable and respectable colored man, was shot on the streets by armed white men.

September 24.—Thursday last a white man's party meeting was held at Llangsport, which was largely attended by people from Texas, as well as by residents of De Soto parish. At the close of the meeting, at which there were some inflammatory speeches made, twenty or thirty mounted men went after Dr. Custer and Squire Headrick, who had at one time been acting with the Republican party. Dr. Custer escaped, but Squire Headrick was murdered and his body thrown in the woods, and not found until the following Saturday morning.

September 29.—In New Orleans John Murry was shot dead by John Vernon. It is apparently an unprovoked murder.

October 8.—A colored church in the sixth district, New Orleans, was burned on Tuesday night, and it is supposed to have been the work of an incendiary.

Louisiana has a terrible record of crime prior to the horrors of the Coushatta massacre. Before the Presidential election in 1868, there were, within two months, two thousand outrages. The recent massacres in northern Louisiana are but as the echo of what occurred in 1868.

The late riot in New Orleans is the third, the least bloody, though the best planned and boldest since the war.

In 1868 New Orleans was for days and nights a scene of slaughter, and for weeks there was no security in her streets.

The troubles in New Orleans, throughout Louisiana, and in other Southern States, are but the renewal and continuation of what has been done from the beginning of reconstruction, and they arise from the same general cause.

It is opposition to the exercise of equal rights as citizens by the freedmen—what they call negro government."

At the Grant Parish massacre "the court-house was fired, and the negroes were slaughtered as they left the burning building. After the resistance ceased, sixty-five negroes, terribly maltreated, were found dead near the ruins of the court-house. Two of the assailants were wounded."

United States Commissioner Jewett, writing to the Boston *Globe*, from Lincoln Parish, La., furnishes some painfully interesting details respecting the movements of the proscriptive whites in that State, recent and in years past, which show very plainly the kind of

men with whom the Government has to contend. Some of the things attempted just after the close of the war deserve recapitulation, as they have escaped the memory of most readers. In 1865 the Democratic Legislature passed acts confining negroes to the plantations of their employers, and forbidding them to go away without a pass. All freedmen who did not contract for work with some planter during the first ten days of January were to be arrested and imprisoned as vagrants until the nearest justice of the peace should make a labor contract for them. Negro offenders were to be punished by whipping. In Ouachita Parish poor blacks as well as rich whites were assessed five dollars a head by a special act for the reconstruction of a burned court-house. This oppressive law was helped to a passage by John McEnergy, the representative of Ouachita Parish, and now claiming to be Governor of the State. As the Republicans carried the State in 1867, the ex-rebels felt that active measures were needed on their part. They carried on Kuklux operations of the most atrocious character during this and the succeeding year. In St. Landry Parish two hundred blacks were murdered. In Caddo many white Republicans were assassinated, and near Shreveport thirty negroes were shot in a body. The total number of murders of this kind in Caddo, from September 1 to November 3, was 242. In Bossier Parish at least 308 persons fell victims to rebel ferocity. One Dr. Whitfield Vance, accompanied by a few more "high-toned gentlemen," met upon the road two colored women riding upon mules to reclaim, if possible, the bones of their slaughtered husbands. This "high-toned" doctor, with his own aristocratic hands, hanged these women at the side of the road with the halters of their mules, and went home, doubtless feeling a calm satisfaction at having been able to do that much for the cause of "white civilization." The same chivalrous gentleman dragged from under his own mansion a negro who had sought safety there, and enjoyed the pleasure of placing a bowie-knife upon his shoulder and of driving it, point downward, to his heart. Another wounded negro he covered in the woods with brush and logs, and fired the pile. The man yet lives to exhibit the scars of his fearful burns.

MISSISSIPPI.

"Our work is only begun; we must finish it. 'War to the knife, and from the knife to the hilt' until we redeem the county and the State."—*Vicksburg Herald*.

A few nights since a negro constable was taken from his house by a party of unknown men, near Oak Ridge, Miss., who carried him three miles and then killed him. No trace to the murderers has yet been found.

Henry Johnson, a colored man, who lived in Lawrence county, Miss., was killed a few nights ago. Two white men, charged with participation in the murder were arrested, and after an examination by a magistrate, were bound over in \$500 each on their own recognizance.

Another negro, named Jesse Sims, living in Warren county, was murdered Sunday night by unknown men.

September 29.—A young planter of Bolivar county, named J. W. Wortham, was waylaid and killed some five miles from Carson's Landing, last Saturday, by an unknown party. He was riding along the public highway toward Carson's when he was fired upon, and a load of buckshot was lodged in his person, from the effects of which death was doubtless instantaneous. He fell from his horse, and the animal was afterward found with the saddle besmeared with blood.

NORTH CAROLINA.

"The whole Sout' prefers an empire." "Let us compel the North, by a state of war, to change its form of government."—*Louisville Courier Journal*.

September 4.—David Schenck, the newly elected Democratic judge of the ninth judicial district, signalized his eminent fitness for the ermine, and forever endeared himself to his brethren of the White League, by deliberately shooting down a negro with whom he became involved in a slight difficulty concerning a team, and by proceeding within a few days thereafter to preside over the District Court with the beginning of the regular term. Schenck was implicated as one of the leading spirits in the Ku Klux outrages of 1870.

In Columbus county, a few days previous to the murder committed by Judge Schenck, a colored man named Floyd, without provocation, had his body pierced by a volley of bullets fired by white men.

September 19.—One Dixon, a white man living in Edgecomb county, shot and killed a colored man. The murder was wholly without provocation, as was evidenced by the testimony of those witnessing the deed.

September 26.—"Geo. W. Daniel, colored State representative from Halifax county, and his wife, with three other

persons, were walking along the public road near Daniel's house, when Joseph H. Branch galloped up the road on horseback, and just in the rear of the party cried out 'clear the way!' twice. The party turned round to see what was up, when Branch fired upon Daniel with a gun loaded with buckshot and rode on. Daniel lived only an hour." This statement is furnished by the coroner, in a dispatch to Governor Brogden. Branch is a Ku Klux Democrat.

TENNESSEE.

"The Southern men are the only friends the negro has in any part of the world. It becomes us to be their friends."—*Jeff. Davis' Speech at Memphis*.

August 1.—Burning of the school-house at Commerce, Smith county.

August 6.—Cash Warren was shot in Sommerville.

August 7.—Massacre of the Reeves brothers at Sommerville.

August 10.—Burning of two churches near Cypress, West Tennessee.

August 11.—Burning of two churches in Haywood county.

August 12.—Midnight murder of Sandy Peebles, an inoffensive old colored man, by masked men at Stewart's Creek, Rutherford county.

August 15.—Unprovoked murder of Robert Banks, a colored musician, near Kingston Springs, by one William Kellam, who asked him if he didn't want to shoot. Banks replied, "No, sir," to which Kellam said, "Then I will shoot you," and shot him dead.

August 13.—Burning of school-house at Gardner's Station, Weakley county.

B. H. Nelson was shot at Pulaski in the day by unmasked men.

August 14.—Burning of school-house near Grant, Smith county.

August 22.—Fiendish murder of Julia Hayden, a colored school teacher, at Hartsville, by midnight marauders. She was shot dead in her bed at midnight by unknown (?) parties.

"H. V. R." writes to the Cincinnati *Commercial* from Nashville: "Poor Julia, I learn, was but sixteen years old, and every one acquainted with her spoke of her in the highest terms. When murdered she was boarding at the house of one Lowe, a colored man, two miles from Hartsville. Two white villains came to the house about 2 o'clock in the morning and called for 'that teacher.' Lowe would not open the door, and they commenced pounding against it. This frightened Julia, and she ran to

get in bed with Lowe's wife, whom she called 'Mammy,' Lowe himself being up stairs calling for help. They fired through the door, and poor Julia fell dead. I send you the testimony of 'Mammy' Lowe taken at the coroner's inquest :

"Julia says : 'Ma, let me get in bed with you.' I told her to get in. She says : 'Ma, do you think they are going to hurt me?' I replied : 'No, I reckon they want to rob the old man, they may think he has money.' Julia was sitting up in bed by my side. After the shot was fired she said : 'Ma, I believe I am shot.' I replied : 'No, child, I reckon not.' She gradually eased down on her elbow on the pillow. I rubbed her head ; I thought she had fainted. My husband still staid up stairs, until one of the neighbor came men and hallooed 'hellow' the third time. Then he came in and lit the light and went to bed, and found Julia dead."

August 24.—Cruel and unprovoked murder of Dick McKinney, an inoffensive and aged colored man, by maskers, at Chestnut Mound, Smith county.

One Hall was arrested for the murder of McKinley, when he turned States' evidence and said:

"When the door of McKinley's cabin had been broken down by the assaulting party, McKinley grasped an ax to defend himself, when he was shot in the bowels by Petty, whereupon the old man struck at Petty, and the two fell to the ground together. Apple then ran up, wrenched the ax from McKinley's hand and broke the negro's skull with the head of the ax, so that his brain protruded. James Bush shot McKinley in the back as the old man lay upon the ground in this helpless and mangled condition, setting his shirt on fire and burning the skin severely, so closely was the weapon held to the body of the defenseless victim of this hellish assault." During the affray Apple received a wound near the knee, inflicted by the ax, and John Bush was shot in the arm by some one of his own party.

James Bush and Calicut were arrested soon after the above disclosures had been made by Hall, and the three were lodged in jail at Cookeville, the county seat of Putnam county. Wednesday night a party of armed men proceeded to the jail, overpowered the jailer, removed the three prisoners, released Calicut and Bush, and shot Hall to death in the edge of the town, notwithstanding his cries for mercy.

August 25.—Wholesale butchery of

sixteen colored men, who were taken from the jail at Trenton, Gibson county, by armed and masked men and shot down like dogs.

August 28.—On the farm of Mrs. McKinley, near Carthage, a highly respected and harmless, but patriotic old negro was visited by six masked Ku Klux, who smashed down his cabin door and fired promiscuously into the family. The daughter was wounded, not seriously, and the old man severely. He then seized an ax and sprang to the door, when three bullets were sent through his body, after his head was smashed with the ax he brought out, after which the murderers suddenly disappeared.

September 1.—This evening Lon Bates, carpenter, an honest workman, after completing his day's labor at a neighbor's named Reynolds, started home with all those happy thoughts which compass the mind of those who know that loving hearts await their coming. He crossed Reynolds' farm and stopped at a fence, on the opposite side of which was a heavy growth of forest trees. He struck a match upon a rail and touched the blaze to his pipe. He then mounted the fence, and while sitting there smoking he was suddenly startled by the report of a gun not far distant in the woods; he felt the hot ball pass through his stomach, grew dizzy and fell heavily to the earth. By his cries he attracted the attention of some of his neighbors, who came to his relief and conveyed him home, where he died soon after detailing the above facts.

About the same time Mr. Hugh Carlisle, a bridge contractor on the C. C. & R. railroad, while passing along a road noted for its ruggedness he suddenly heard a slight rustle in a recess to one side as if of a person using his feet, but owing to the thickness of the underbrush he was unable to discover the cause. Thinking little of the circumstance he again started onward, when, almost simultaneously, the sharp crack of several shots was heard; as many bullets, unerring and swift, sped on their deathly errand, the lonely traveler fell to the earth with a dull thud, the murderer's work was finished, and the soul of Hugh Carlisle went to meet its God.

H. V. R., the reliable correspondent of the Cincinnati *Commercial*, in a letter, September 13, from Chattanooga, Tennessee, says:

"Near Waverly, not long ago, a white desperado, by the name of Watkins, made a deliberate attempt to murder an

old and inoffensive negro. This Watkins was from Georgia, from which State he had fled on account of having killed a man. Having tried to kill the old negro and failed, he set upon two white citizens, armed with two pistols and a knife. This happened at Waverly under the very shadow of the law, for the circuit court was in session at the time, and Watkins got his valuable carcass into jail. He was put in under two charges, one of them being his brutal attack on the negro.

"Now mark what was the result. The following Monday night at 12 o'clock ten or twelve armed and disguised men appeared at the jail and demanded the release of the desperado. The jailor had to comply under pain of having his own head blown off, and Watkins was carried away in triumph by his friends. That will, in all probability, be the end of it. Thus is the law rode over and trampled under foot by masked villains, who are sufficiently powerful to release their own friends from jail, or break in and hang any unfortunate negro who may have incurred their displeasure.

"In the same county, not long before, masked men went to the house of A. Gossett, in what is called Big Bottom, took out a colored girl living with Mr. Gossett, and gave her a terrible whipping. This was done because Gossett had punished one of his own children for striking this negro girl. This is a small matter, to be sure, as there was nobody killed, but is big with significance as showing the drift of things.

"About the same time, near Johnsonville, masked men took out Geo. Miller, white, and gave him a whipping for no reason in particular that anybody knows of."

In the past eight months, in the counties of Rutherford, Sumner, and Gibson, there have been thirty-nine murders.

TEXAS.

Without entering into any argument to sustain our position we assert that the government now in possession of Louisiana will retain its hold. * * * Of one thing we are assured, however, the people are in bloody earnest. They are determined to sell their lives dearly.—*Galveston Mercury*.

June 22.—C. W. Washburn, a school teacher in a colored settlement in Gaudaloupe county, was taken from his bed by masked white men, tied and received 100 lashes and allowed six days to leave the county.

June 23.—J. F. Gesner, for teaching a Sabbath school in a colored church, near Sequin, was dragged from his house at night by eight white men masked and

armed. While they were putting a rope round his neck he shouted murder, and aroused his neighbors. After beating Mr. Gesner over the head with a six-shooter the mob escaped. Mr. Gesner was obliged to leave the county, and his crop ungathered.

The Rev. Jeremiah Webster, of the West Texas Methodist Episcopal Church Conference, has been lynched by hanging. He was murdered by the gang of desperados who whipped Washburn, and drove Gesner from the State for the crime (?) of teaching negroes. Mr. Webster has suffered death because his interposed in favor of Washburn and Gesner.

The St. Louis, Missouri, *Republican*, (Democratic,) says:

"Whole counties are under the absolute control of organized bands of desperate men, who set the laws of the State at defiance and levy contributions from the people at will."

September 19.—A gentleman by the name of Thos. Reed, from Hunt county, gives the following account of the murder of young Renfro, reported recently in that county, as elicited in the examining court. His statement runs thus: Renfro was a prominent witness against Payne in an old murder case. On Friday evening, the 5th inst., Payne, accompanied by a Confederate by the name of Pitts, went into the woods where Renfro was splitting rails, and knocked him in the head with an ax. Thinking they had killed him, they threw his body in a tree top. That night they went back, and placing the body on a horse, carried it to the vicinity of a road and threw it off, to make it appear, it is supposed, that he was killed by being thrown from his horse. Early next day his body was discovered, and on examination was found to still contain life. A physician was called, who administered stimulants and succeeded in resuscitating life sufficient to bring about consciousness to that extent that Renfro was enabled to tell the sad and dark history of his own murder, and all the circumstances up to the first stroke.

October 8.—The stage-coach going from Brookston to Paris was stopped by three masked men last night, four miles west of Paris, and the passengers robbed. The robbers secured \$325 in money, two valuable gold and two silver watches.

The chairman of the State Republican Committee says that over six hundred murders have been committed in Texas, including preachers and teachers, since Governor Coke succeeded Gov. Davis.

THE CENTRAL TERRITORIES OF THE UNITED STATES.

The "Great American Desert," as that vast expanse of country between the present western boundary of the States and the Rocky Mountains used to be called, has almost vanished into thin air. Indeed, portions of it now form part of the prosperous States of Kansas and Nebraska, and, save when occasionally affected by extraordinary drought or scourged by countless swarms of all-devouring locusts, annually produce large quantities of grain, fruits, vegetables, and cattle, and are capable of constantly sustaining a dense population. Lands found to be arable constantly encroach upon the "desert." In Utah, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona there are now immense areas under profitable cultivation which were formerly supposed to be wholly worthless for agricultural purposes. Irrigation has literally made the desert to bud and blossom like the rose. The same means, more extensively and systematically put in operation, will in due time reclaim millions of acres which in the past ages have given only a scant support to buffaloes, prairie-dogs, and serpents. Without counting on any new inventions for the watering of an arid country, but simply judging as to the future by the past, it is safe to say that persons are now living who shall see the day when the whole of the once Great American Desert, except the rugged mountainous portions, will be under cultivation by the husbandman or in the profitable charge of the herdsman.

This immense region, so long supposed to be uninhabitable, being already in the course of reclamation, the Central Territories of the United States, of which the Great Desert in the old maps formed a large part, at once exhibit themselves in a new phase, so to speak, and present a question of immediate, instead of remote, interest to statesmen and to all men interested in the complete development of our Great Republic. It

was never pretended, even by the most imperfect geographers, that the Great Desert stretched forth its bleak and barren arms into all the countries in this essay designated the Central Territories of the United States; but it was claimed that by reason of the desert, the greater portion of all this country must forever remain of comparatively little value. This claim, now known to be ill founded, was based upon an insufficient knowledge of the country itself, and a sad want of appreciation of the inventive and progressive capacities of the American people.

For the purpose of convenience counting the Indian country among them, the Central Territories of the American Union are nine in number, namely, Arizona, Colorado, Dakota, Idaho, Indian, Montana, New Mexico, Utah, and Wyoming. These embrace all the domain of the United States not included in the organized States of the Union, except a vast expanse in our extreme northwest, known as Washington Territory and Alaska, and the District of Columbia, set apart as the seat of Government under the immediate jurisdiction of the general Congress.

The vast extent of these Central Territories is not, I presume, generally known. It is, in fact, almost exactly equal to the area embraced in the twenty-seven States of the Union lying wholly east of the Mississippi river, the difference not being greater than the area of one or two large counties in some of the States. The area of these twenty-seven States is 971,073 square miles. That of the Central Territories is shown in detail by the following table:

| Territories. | Area sq. miles. |
|-----------------------|-----------------|
| Arizona | 113,916 |
| Colorado..... | 104,500 |
| Dakota..... | 150,932 |
| Idaho | 86,294 |
| Indian (Country)..... | 68,991 |
| Montana | 143,776 |
| New Mexico..... | 121,201 |

| | |
|--------------|---------|
| Utah..... | 84,476 |
| Wyoming..... | 97,883 |
| Total..... | 971,969 |

Leaving out the Indian Country, these Territories are the water-shed of the North American continent. From all of them, except Dakota, part of their waters flow into the Pacific ocean, and part into the Atlantic by the Rio Grande, the Mississippi river, and the Gulf of Mexico. In this immense extent of territory there is great variety of climate, of soil, and of people, and an infinite variety of natural scenery. Here are vast plains, with very little vegetation, resembling the Kalahari Desert of South Africa, supporting many flocks of goats, rather than the sandy plains of Egypt and Arabia. Like Kalahari, many of these plains are coursed by the beds of ancient rivers, the waters of which ages ago ceased to flow therein, being swallowed up by the thirsty earth or finding beneath the surface thereof rents and caverns caused by old convulsions, and earthquakes which have not even yet wholly ceased to visit the western portion of our continent. There are deep and narrow valleys, whose soil is of surpassing richness, and there are sublime mountain ranges whose peaks, at great distance from each other, and covered with eternal snow, might look to the eye of the bird of Jove like an encampment of the gods. Switzerland and Egypt here dovetail into each other. In Montana there are hot springs greater than the famed geysers of Iceland, hard by others whose waters are cold enough for a lemonade or even the inspiring nectar of Southern statesmen—a brandy smash. The climate in New Mexico and Arizona, in some places fearfully hot during the summer months, is almost a certain specific for pulmonary complaints. The snow storms of Idaho, Montana, and Wyoming are often excessively severe, lasting for weeks at a time. But they keep the luxuriant grass of the valleys green all winter long, and upon this the cattle

learn to feed notwithstanding the snow. No man knows what delicious richness there is in beef until he has eaten the beef of Montana. The antelope of the plains furnish the most delicious venison. The perennial rivers are stocked with a wonderful variety of fishes. There are vast extents of forests whose trees will furnish fuel and lumber for ages. In the mountains are deposits of bituminous coal of almost illimitable extent. Of the precious metals I shall speak more at length presently. Let it suffice to say here that it is probable they abound in greater quantity in the Central Territories of our Union than anywhere else on the globe.

Such is a brief and very imperfect description of the physical nature of these Territories. Before proceeding to consider the character of the people of this portion of our country, their institutions, interests, wants, progress, and future prospects, let us discuss that portion of the vast extent of country in review which is exceptional in many respects from all the rest. I can refer, of course, only to the Indian Territory.

THE INDIAN QUESTION.

It is not my purpose to enter into the discussion of this important question, than which few topics connected with our national polity are more interesting, or fraught with more good or evil according as they are well or ill managed in practice. It is certain, however, that in all the Central Territories of the Union the Indian question is one of grave if not of paramount importance. It is well known that there is a strong party in the Indian Territory, led by civilized Indians of notable talents and wide culture, in favor of a "new departure" in Indian policy. Their fundamental idea involves a radical change in respect to our whole treatment of Indians. Heretofore in our policy, though they are the only "simon-pure" native Americans, they have been treated as foreigners. Every tribe is as much foreign to us in this respect as is

Spain or Italy, or any other government of Christendom or heathenesse. A treaty between the United States and Germany is no more the supreme law of the land than a treaty between the United States and the Cherokees, or Choctaws, or Sioux, or Modocs, if there be any Modocs still unhanged. The new policy proposes to change all this, and to nationalize the Indians. It proposes that they shall assimilate with us, becoming part and parcel of our conglomerate nationality, just as our German and other foreign-born citizens do. This is the real upshot and meaning of the proposed reform. Those who have studied the question most profoundly believe that we must have this Indian assimilation or extermination; and a careful man will not be swift to dispute the correctness of this opinion.

The reformers desire to practically inaugurate their proposed system in the Indian Territory, giving the civilized Indians therein a Territorial government, from which in the course of time will be evolved an independent State of the Union, with Indian citizens having all the rights and privileges of other citizens, subject to the same liabilities and the same duties. Of course it is expected that in the gradual development of this design the tribal element in Indian government would gradually pass away. It is also expected that its success in the Indian Territory would cause the adoption of the policy as to all Indians living within the general boundaries of the Republic. In due time, though it might not be short time, all would be assimilated, and the preposterous anomaly of "foreign nations" existing in the midst of our own domain would no longer exist.

For one, I have no doubt that this policy will eventually prevail. Meantime, it will be well for us to treat these foreign people dwelling in the midst of our general domain with common honesty. Through the carelessness of Congress the Government of the United States has been permitted to re-

main largely in debt to some of the civilized tribes of the Indian Territory for lands purchased of them by solemn treaty half a century ago. They will hardly care to assimilate with those who have robbed them of their all, and if this fails the only alternative is extermination. If this last is to be the policy, every American must tremble for his country when he remembers that God is just. A policy so frightfully cruel would disgrace the cannibals. We must then prepare for assimilation. We can at any rate give the policy a fair trial in the Indian Territory, or in a portion thereof. If we were to pay the Cherokees, Choctaws, and other civilized Indians what we have justly owed them for many years, and give them a Territorial government with assurance of a State organization in due time, it is likely that the plan of assimilation would soon be fully, even grandly, successful. After that the difficulties of the Indian question would constantly diminish. A few weak tribes would pass away utterly, the others would commingle with the American people, forming a part thereof, and a now perplexing question would step down and out of public discussion. The Indian problem being believed to be in the course of ultimate solution, the development of our Central Territories would at once proceed with accelerated rapidity.

It is not only possible but probable that nearly all the Indians of the country, except those of Alaska, will be removed to temporary reservations within the Central Territories, where the problem, as above described, will be gradually worked out on the slate of our national polity, whereby they shall all become first civilized and then Americanized.

The total Indian population of the country, as returned by the census of 1870, was 383,712, and of these 272,527 are in the Territories, 111,185 being in the States, chiefly California, Kansas, Nebraska, Minnesota, Nevada, Oregon, and Wisconsin. In the Central Terri-

tories the population of whites and Indians is shown by the following table:

| Territories. | Whites. | Indians. |
|-----------------|---------|----------|
| Arizona | 9,581 | 32,083 |
| Colorado..... | 39,221 | 7,480 |
| Dakota..... | 12,887 | 27,520 |
| Idaho..... | 10,618 | 5,631 |
| Indian..... | 2,407 | 59,367 |
| Montana | 18,393 | 19,457 |
| New Mexico..... | 90,393 | 20,738 |
| Utah..... | 83,044 | 12,974 |
| Wyoming | 8,726 | 2,466 |
| Total | 278,183 | 187,716 |

THE PEOPLE OF THE CENTRAL TERRITORIES.

The whites, civilized Indians, and colored people of the Central Territories number about 400,000 souls. They are, as a rule, intelligent, progressive, boisterous, and brave. Except in New Mexico the most of the inhabitants of these Territories not Indians are like the inhabitants of the States, with a fine dash of originality and adventure and a touch of roughness added. In New Mexico there are many "Greasers," as they are called, men of the Mexican race, of a mixture of Spanish and Indian blood. In all the other Territories are precisely the kind of men who went to California soon after the discovery of gold, and who founded a State which has added quite as much to the prosperity, the statesmanship, and the literature of the nation as any other; whose educational institutions, popular and classical, are among the best; whose charitable asylums are noted throughout the world; whose daily journals are surpassed in enterprise and ability by those of only one or two cities of the Atlantic slope, if they are surpassed at all. The people of these Territories lose no time in establishing schools and academies. They liberally sustain newspapers, and

churches may be found in all the cities and towns. There are four or five daily journals in Colorado, some of which will compare not unfavorably with those of the national capital. On the average they contain more news by electric telegraph than the famed journals of London. Montana is not much behind Colorado in this respect, whilst Utah sustains two or three daily papers, Wyoming two, and New Mexico the same number. The "country papers" which I have seen from these Territories are well printed, spicy, saucy, and most readable. Two or three of them have the assistance of men who whom were connected with journals of Washington city. A great statesman in the post-prandial mood once remarked that a country with such a cataract as the Genessee Falls would never lose its liberties. We may be sure that the people who liberally sustain daily and weekly newspapers in the midst of them have capacity for self-government and progress which insures the growth of great and powerful commonwealths.

RAILWAYS.

The Union Pacific railroad in its course up the Platte river enters the northeastern corner of Colorado. It passes entirely through Wyoming near the southern line, and the northern portion of Utah. From Cheyenne, Wyoming, there is a branch to the city of Denver. From Denver there is a narrow-gauge railway to Pueblo, more than a hundred miles south. The Kansas Pacific road enters Colorado about the middle of the eastern boundary, and by a northwesterly course reaches Denver. From Kit Carson on this road another is now being built southward into New Mexico. At this time it extends to Fort Lyon.

There are several hundred miles of railway in Dakota. The Northern Pacific passes more than half way across the Territory, from Fargo, on the Minnesota line, to Bismarck, on the Missouri river. Yankton, the capital, is connected by rail with Sioux City, in

Iowa. It is intended to extend this road to the region of the Black Hills.

The Kansas and Texas railroad passes entirely through the Indian Territory from North to South. The Atlantic and Pacific connects with this in the northeastern part of the Territory.

These are railroads now in operation in the Central Territories. The Southern Pacific, it is well-known, is now being constructed. It will pass through the southern portions of New Mexico and Arizona. Liberal grants of land have also been bestowed upon the Atlantic and Pacific road, the proposed line of which passes through the northern parts of the Indian Territory, New Mexico, and Arizona. The wisdom of constructing this road for many years to come is disputed by not a few men wise in railway affairs. Some say, indeed, that the project will be abandoned. In that case, prospects of the speedy completion of the Southern Pacific would become immediately brighter.

As intimately connected with this subject it may be said that the Central Territories are not largely supplied with navigable streams. The Missouri river, however, is navigable to Fort Benton in the mountains of northern Montana. Giving several hundred miles of navigation to this Territory, it then passes entirely through Dakota almost exactly bisecting it into two immense triangles. The Yellowstone river, of the most grand and picturesque scenery in America, could be made navigable for more than five hundred miles by the expenditure of a small sum of money, as shown by actual surveys of officers of the army. The Arkansas river is navigable a considerable distance in the Indian Territory. The Colorado as high as Callville.

POLITICAL QUESTIONS.

It is a noteworthy fact that in the history of American politics questions pertaining to the Territories have ever been of paramount importance. Such questions have made and unmade statesmen; they have created powerful and victorious parties; they have sent other par-

ties, long powerful and victorious, to the tomb of eternal rest. The famous ordinance of 1787 pertained to the northwestern Territory. We have had few political struggles more ardent than the contest over the policy which should obtain in the government of the Territory acquired from Mexico. This was the origin of the "Free Soil party." The bill for the organization of the Territories of Kansas and Nebraska threw the whole nation into excitement, rent the Democratic party in twain, and prepared the way for the success of the Republicans in 1860. Indeed, if we examine our history carefully we shall find that all our great steps forward in the march of progress have been very largely impelled by questions in relation to the Territories.

As in the past, so in the present, questions of the gravest importance center in the Territories. There are the Indians, and there the Indian problem must finally be solved in one way or another. There are the Mormons, and there must be distinctly marked out the line which divides perfect religious freedom from a system claiming to be religious, whose gross and flaunting indecencies and monstrous crimes are the most appalling shame of modern civilization. He who thinks this task is an easy one has given very little serious attention to the subject. In the solution of these two great problems, the application of principles relating to morality, statesmanship, national honor, the cause of humanity itself, will be required. Upon their wise application the future well-being of our Republic assuredly depends.

I simply glance at these questions, which form a necessary part of any comprehensive Territorial policy, because they belong to the general subject of which I am treating, and demonstrate the continued paramount importance of issues growing out of the Territories. That matter pertaining to our Central Territories to which I would invite special attention is their

MINING INTERESTS.

If one will take a ruler, two feet in length, and place the center at the southwest corner of California on the large map of the United States and Territories recently published by the General Land Office, and then slide the ruler north by west to the British Possessions, he will have embraced in the Territory covered by the ruler the heart of the gold and silver producing region of the North American continent. It would seem to be certain, indeed, that in deposits of gold, silver, copper, lead, iron, and the most valuable salts, the region here described is the greatest in extent and the richest in the whole world. This is the opinion of all scientific men who have acquired a personal knowledge of the country.

In its physical aspects the Territory of Arizona is a singular and most interesting country. It is of volcanic formation. There are here vast piles of mountains covering wide extents of country, where, in ages long ago, great numbers of volcanos periodically belched forth fire and smoke and lava from the undiscovered bowels of the earth. The rivers of the country are peculiar. In places even the largest of them become entirely lost, sinking into the ground to rise again no more. Others disappear, and having flowed a long distance by subterranean passage again come forth, in some cases enlarged in others ens�alled. The rocks of the mountains are richly surcharged with gold, silver, copper, and lead. Other portions abound in salts. On the Salt river there is actually a mountain of pure salt.

The natural agricultural and pastoral resources of a large portion of Arizona are very great. The river valleys are extensive, the soil is generally very rich. Two crops are produced annually. The forests abound in pine, live oak, and other valuable trees. Here, also, are found many of those trees which naturally distil the article known in commerce as gum arabic, which by a simple mixture with water produces the best

mucilage. There is also an herb profusely growing wild in Arizona which is a natural soap. Soil and climate are admirably adapted for the cultivation of grapes. Scattered all over the Territory are ruins of towers, houses, irrigating canals, uncontestedly showing that there formerly existed here a race of people far superior to those who occupied the country when taken possession of by the United States.

New Mexico may be correctly described, I think, as the pastoral country, *par excellence*, of the American Republic. Portions of it are of volcanic formation as in Arizona, and in the northern part silver has been found in large quantities. This Territory is now rapidly improving. Capitalists in California are investing large sums of money in New Mexico in the business of sheep raising and wool growing. The plains and valleys here produce grasses of peculiar richness, capable of supporting countless flocks of sheep. Within the past two years there has been a notable improvement observable among the people of New Mexico in enterprise. The Mexicans have become Americanized, and immigration has largely added to the progressive element. If this Territory be not now fully prepared to become a State it can not be long until it will be.

The Mormons, by their admirable thorough system of irrigation, have made much of the "desert" of Utah both beautiful and fertile. There are other portions of this Territory, now arid waste, which can be made beautiful and fertile by the same means. The mineral resources of this Territory are very great. Gold and silver are found in large quantities, while the coal measures of the Territory are wonderfully rich and extensive.

Every one will recollect the "Pike's Peak" gold excitement of 1858-'59. It carried thither a great many persons, many of whom, unsuccessful in that immediate locality, sought other "diggings." The searches and migrations of these discovered the rich deposits of

gold and silver in what is now Colorado, Nevada, Idaho, and Montana, and the coal fields of Wyoming. Of the Territories at this time organized Colorado is, perhaps, the most interesting and important. Her English-speaking population, obedient both to the Constitution and laws of the Union, is doubtless much greater than that of any of the other Territories. The population of Utah is greater than that of Colorado, but a considerable portion of the people of Utah live in constant violation of a law of the United States prohibiting polygamy. In New Mexico not one person in five can speak the English language. Colorado has been rapidly improved during the past three years, making notable gains in population, which now certainly numbers more than one hundred thousand souls. A large portion of the Territory is finely adapted to grazing. The grass is wonderfully luxuriant, rich, and wholesome. By reason of the dryness of the climate this grass becomes hay without cutting, and cattle thrive on it during the winter months. The husbandman in most parts of the Territory must irrigate his lands, but this is easily done there, while there are considerable areas where it is not necessary. Colorado already produces a good deal of excellent wine, and will no doubt become famous in this respect.

Of the other Territories Montana is the most populous, but Dakota is just now, perhaps, the most progressive. The richest mines of precious metals are in Montana, of the remaining Territories, and then come those of Idaho. Recent discoveries of gold in the Black Hills seem to be established by the weight of evidence. These hills lie mostly in Dakota, but portions of them are within Montana and Wyoming. Over a considerable portion of the immense area occupied by the four northern Territories agriculture may be successfully pursued; other portions are specially adapted to grazing.

But take the Central Territories of the Union as a whole, the paramount

material interest of the most importance to the people thereof, to the country, and to the trade of the world is that of mining. To this agriculture, stock-raising, and manufactures must forever remain subsidiary, though each and all may and will flourish, giving livelihood and fortune to great numbers of persons. It is one of the most pressing duties of statesmanship to foster and develop the mining interests of the Central Territories. All, except the Indian country, are less or more rich in gold, silver, copper, iron, lead, quicksilver, and salts, while through a large central belt of mountainous region, throwing out spurs in all directions from the main trunk, undoubtedly lie the greatest and richest deposits of the precious metals to be found anywhere on the earth. Here are sources of wealth far greater than that which California has added to the world's trade. What is required to foster and develop this immense wealth is

A COMPREHENSIVE POLICY.

The Hon. Richard C. McCormick, of Arizona, in a speech in the House of Representatives so long ago as February, 1873, brought this subject intelligently before the public. In a single paragraph the importance of our mining interests have nowhere else been so clearly and forcibly stated. He said:

"The mining industry of this country has been, during the last twenty-five years, one of the most important elements of national progress and prosperity. This is particularly true of the great development which has taken place in the States and Territories lying wholly or partly west of the Rocky Mountains. From the time when gold was discovered in California to the present day mining in the West has been not only a direct source of commercial benefit to the country but indirectly a factor in all progress. It has settled new Territories, stimulated the construction of great public works, extended agriculture and manufactures; in short, built up an empire on the other side of this continent, the wealth and capacities of which have as yet scarcely been realized by the most enthusiastic observers. Meanwhile, I need hardly add, the mines of iron, copper, and lead in the

Atlantic States, supported by the abundant product of the coal mines, have mightily strengthened the industry and political power of the nation."

In the development of the mining interests of the central Territories two great difficulties have stood in the way: First, the attacks of hostile Indians; and, secondly, the nature of the country, making it necessary that large amounts of capital be furnished in order to procure the metals in paying quantities. This last difficulty can never be surmounted except by the removal of the first. Men will not invest large means where there is a strong probability of a savage maraud. Here, then, is the Indian confronting and to great extent paralyzing one of our greatest industries, and that one which, in the present situation of affairs, may justly be regarded as the most important of all.

For it will not be denied that the question of our finances is of paramount interest and importance to the whole people. Sooner or later we must come to specie payments. The sooner the better, provided always they can be maintained. Upon this the permanent prosperity of the country largely depends; upon this finally depends the payment of the national debt and our very existence as an honorable nation. The great objection to any scheme yet proposed for the resumption of cash payments is a want of comprehensiveness. We not only want a sound currency, but a sound situation of affairs generally. We annually pay vast sums of money to foreigners which ought to remain at home, and would, but for abuses and extravagances which have sprung up in the transportation of our staple productions of the interior and South to foreign markets. To cure the great evil here referred to two things are necessary, namely: Economical reforms in inland transportation, and the rehabilitation of American shipping on the high seas. By these means we directly save to the country about one hundred millions annually now paid to foreign steamship

companies. We directly save as much more to the producers through the enhanced price of their products. By this reform in inland and oceanic transportation—and both are indispensable—we shall be able to pay for all our imports and have a considerable balance in our favor every year. The only cause that would then be left for a drain of gold out of the country would be found in the fact, shown by all experience, that an inferior currency expels a superior one. But let it once be known that we are certainly on the road to resumption, that sure means are being provided therefor, and the currency passes from the inferior toward the superior grade.

Now, to this reform of inland and oceanic transportation add new sufficient resources for the enlarged development of our mineral industries in the central Territories, and you supply the means of resumption; and this without noticeable contraction of the currency. How is this to be done? In the first place the Indians must be attended to. Unless their incursions upon mining properties be prevented no great results can be brought about. Assure capitalists that this will be done—and only a small addition to the army would be necessary—so rich are the gold and silver fields of our central Territories that they would speedily invest the required means. This well done, it is believed by all men of science who have examined the subject, the result would be an annual increase of at least one hundred millions in America's product of the precious metals. And this, I respectfully submit, with the drain of gold from us stopped by the means above described, would be sufficient to keep even our present amount of currency at par, and make it, what can not now justly be claimed for it, the best paper money in the world—"as good as gold" except against fire.

In addition to the sure protection of our great mining industries against Indian attack, the Government might well give greater attention to this matter

than it has done. I do not advocate the establishment of a bureau of mines and mining for the reason that I think we have enough governmental bureaus now, with some to spare. But that the Government, by a commission or by some simple means, might well procure and publish correct and full information upon the subject, but few will deny. This much at least must be regarded as the plain duty of the Government. Nor will the candid deny that the existence of such great quantities of the precious metals in our central Territories forms a solid, indeed, unanswerable argument in behalf of the speedy completion of the Southern and the Northern Pacific railways.

Those of your readers who have kindly followed me through the foregoing pages

will perceive that the central Territories of the United States not only have a peculiar interest in themselves, but are peculiarly interesting to the whole American people. There must be solved some of the most difficult problems of statesmanship and of social science. There most likely will be found the means of solving our most difficult problem in political economy—that of our finances. Thence must to great extent come the means for the payment of our public debts, both national and municipal. In a word, the fact exists now just as it always has been in the history of the United States, that the nation must move to new greatness, new power, and greater usefulness by granting justice and political and industrial rights to the Territories.

L. D. INGERSOLL.

POLITICAL CONVENTIONS.

MISSOURI REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

The Republican State Convention met at St. Louis, September 23, and organized by electing Judge Isaac C. Parker president. Some time was spent in disposing of double delegations from the sixth and eighth wards of St. Louis, occasioned by bolts in the primary meetings, but both sets of delegates were finally admitted, each delegate being given half a vote. A new Central State Committee was then elected, and the convention adjourned until evening. On reassembling the following platform was adopted:

Resolved, That we, the Republicans of Missouri, reiterate our abiding faith and confidence in the principles of the Republican party as expressed in its national platform of 1872, and we further declare that these principles have received their best exposition in the great and cardinal measures of President Grant's administration, which we heartily indorse.

Resolved, That we regard all political organizations founded upon race or nationality as repugnant to good government.

Resolved, That we denounce the recent attempt of the Democratic Legislature

to change the investment of the State school fund into a consolidated State bond, the interest on which would have been payable at the sole pleasure of the Legislature as an attack upon our public school system, imperiling the advantages given to the children of the State by Republican legislation.

Resolved, That inasmuch as the long continued misrule and incompetency of the administration of our opponents in this State, leading to insecurity of person and property, the prevention of immigration, the utter prostration of business, the most ruinous depreciation of all species of property have at last exhausted the patience of many good men among the opposition and driven them to the nomination of a ticket pledged to reform in every department of the State government; and inasmuch as we have in our own ranks none who seek for themselves the empty honors of office outside of the opportunities it gives to advance the peace and prosperity of our people; and inasmuch as we feel willing to accept reform from any and all persons who can give it, therefore we deem it the part no less of prudence than of patriotism to adjourn this convention without nominating Republican candidates.

Resolved, That while we deem it proper, under existing circumstances, to refrain from distinctive party nominations for State officers, we are yet Re-

publicans, and we earnestly commend to our friends in every part of the State to keep up their party allegiance and party organization, to cherish with devotion the patriotism of the past, and to neglect no opportunity for advancing here and elsewhere that subjection to good government, that love of law and order which give freedom, security, and equality of rights to every citizen of the Republic.

The convention was harmonious and united, and its proceedings and decision not to nominate State officers is very generally approved by Republicans throughout the State.

MINNESOTA DEMOCRATIC-LIBERAL CONVENTION.

The Democratic-Liberal State Convention met in St. Paul, September 23, for the nomination of a Chief Justice and Associate Justice of the Supreme Court. The following is the platform adopted:

First. Believing the present disastrous condition of the Southern States to be largely due to the corrupt rule of carpet-bag politicians, who have plundered and impoverished the people, intensified the prejudices of race and driven communities to the verge of civil war; knowing that this state of affairs has been developing during the administration of President Grant and has been fostered by the course of the Republican party, and despairing of relief except through a radical change of policy, we demand the maintenance of a just and impartial policy toward the people of the South, whereby both races will be protected in all their rights, the expulsion of the thieves and the perfect equality before the law for all persons without regard to race, color, or political opinion.

Second. A return to gold and silver as the basis of the currency of the country and a resumption of specie payments as soon as the public interests will allow.

Third. A tariff for revenue only consistent with an honest administration, none for protection and no government partnership with protected monopolies.

Fourth. Home rule to limit and localize most zealously the few powers entrusted to public servants, municipal, State, and federal; no centralization.

Fifth. Equal and exact justice to all men; no partial legislation, no partial taxation.

Sixth. A free press; no gag laws.

Seventh. Free men; uniform excise laws; no sumptuary laws.

Eighth. Official accountability enforced by better civil and criminal remedies; no private use of public funds by public officers.

Ninth. Corporations chartered by the State always supervisable in the interest of the people.

Tenth. The party in power is responsible for the administration of the government while in power.

NEW YORK STATE REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

The New York State Convention was held at Utica, New York, on the 23d of September. The convention was largely attended, and the proceedings were harmonious and enthusiastic. The platform with a brief report of and liberal quotations from Senator Conkling's speech will be found on page 284 of *THE REPUBLIC*. The old State ticket was renominated.

NEW YORK TEMPERANCE CONVENTION.

The State Temperance Convention was held at Utica, on the 23d of September. The following resolutions were adopted:

"We remain unqualifiedly opposed to the traffic in intoxicating liquors, and will use our best endeavors to secure a law for the prohibition of the same.

"We reaffirm the platform of independent political action when acts and nominations of political parties are such as to render them unworthy of the support of temperance men.

"Resolved, That a committee of five be appointed, with power to confer with other committees appointed for like purposes, and arrange a plan of political action for the fall campaign which will unite the temperance men of the State in its support."

A committee was appointed under this resolution.

It was decided to invite the several representative committees in sympathy with the movement to meet with them in Albany, October 1.

NEVADA REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

In the Nevada Republican State Convention, at Winnemucca, September 24, Dr. J. C. Hazlett was nominated for Governor; Bowman, Lieutenant Gover-

nor; William Woodburn, for Congress; Judge Beatly, Supreme Judge, long term; Warden Earl, Supreme Judge short term; Charles F. Bycknell, Clerk of the Supreme Court; J. D. Menon, Secretary of State, and J. Hogle, State Treasurer.

The platform adopted by the convention reaffirms the principles of the Republican party, indorses the last Congress, declares that outrages in the South were perpetrated by men determined to establish their white man's government, condemns that movement in strong terms, disapproves of the re-election of President for a third term, favors a revision of our treaty with China in order to restrict immigration of Chinese, opposes subsidies or grants of lands to railroads or other corporations, asks Congress to pass laws regulating fares and freights on railroads, and favors a return to specie payments.

NEVADA DEMOCRATIC CONVENTION.

The Democratic State Convention was held at Carson, on the 28th of September. L. R. Bradley was renominated for Governor. They adopted a platform opposing massed capital, subsidies, and a third term; condemning the back salary grab; opposing Chinese immigration; favoring laws for the regulation of fares and freights on railroads; indorsing the eight-hour law; arraigning the Administration for the abuse of power, and condemning the acts of violence recently perpetrated in the South.

NEW YORK LIBERAL REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

The adjourned Liberal Convention met at Albany, New York, on the 28th of September. They adopted a resolution deeming it advisable not to nominate a State ticket, and recommending the Liberal Republicans and other independent electors of the State to support for office men only of approved honesty and who most fitly represent the principles enunciated at the organization of the party at Cincinnati, and subsequently reaffirmed at State conventions, and who also stand committed by the action of the convention which placed

them in nomination against the third Presidential term, and the centralization of power at the seat of the Federal Government.

MASSACHUSETTS REPUBLICAN CONVENTION.

The Republican State Convention met at Worcester, on the 7th of October. Henry L. Dawes was chosen permanent chairman, and addressed the convention at length. Talbot was nominated for Governor. A ballot committee was appointed. There was no presentation of candidates, and the chair called upon the delegates to come forward by counties and deposit their votes for Governor. Whole number of votes cast 1,042, of which Mr. Talbot has 755, Mr. Loring, 198, Charles Devens, Jr., 51, John E. Sanford, of Taunton, 20, B. F. Butler, 16, E. R. Hoar and Mr. Dawes 1 each.

Horatio G. Knight was nominated for Lieutenant Governor, Oliver Warren for Secretary of the Commonwealth, Charles R. Train for Attorney General, Charles Endicott for Auditor, Charles Adams, Jr., for Treasurer. A State committee was appointed. A platform of principles was then adopted, and the convention adjourned *sine die*.

SPEECH OF MR. DAWES.

After devoting considerable time to State topics, Mr. Dawes proceeded to national questions. He said:

"The spirit of rebellion, always sleeping so long as Republican rule seems secure; but instinctively walking into incarnate ferocity at the faintest promise of the return of the Democratic party to power, has been deluded by the spring elections, and has come out from its lurking places full armed to hunt and murder loyal citizens whom it hates.

"At such a time Massachusetts can not afford to break her front and give a single vote to that party with which, by some strange instinct, the White Leagues and Kuklux ally themselves and refuse to be shaken off. There is not a Democrat in Massachusetts, I know, whose soul does not revolt at the atrocities daily committed on defenseless Southern citizens, and who would not shun their perpetrators as he would a leper; and yet the inevitable tendency of things is stronger than good resolutions.

Political allies must be political friends, until the humblest American citizen in the meanest hovel, though his face be as black as the heart of his persecutor, shall be armed with all legal weapons to defend himself in the enjoyment of every civil right to which the Constitution entitles him.

"There is no room in the Massachusetts delegation in Congress for a single representative of that party whose votes are uniformly withheld from such legislation. Massachusetts has a sacred legacy in the civil rights bill, which she can not barter away nor entrust to any unfriendly keeping. The recent outrages upon the homes and lives of colored citizens at the South are shocking the heart of the nation, and the attempts to overthrow the constituted authority in the Southern States are filling it with serious forebodings; but these violent demonstrations are premature, and will defeat their own ends.

"They have taught the people before it was too late to withhold their confidence from mere professions, and devoutly thank God that Grant and not Buchanan wields the power of Government. No more than in civil rights can Massachusetts Republicans abate their zeal in the maintenance of the public faith, endangered by false theories of finance, and open assaults against which the Executive whom they support has interposed as a shield the just exercise of his constitutional prerogative. They will stand by the Government of their choice in this controversy so long as there shall exist any opposition to the restoration of gold and silver as the only true basis of currency."

Mr. Dickinson, from the Committee on Resolutions, reported as follows:

"The Republicans of Massachusetts, proud of the record of their party, reaffirm their devotion to the great principles of justice upon which it was founded, and they pledge their best and constant endeavors to the maintenance of those principles in future; be it therefore

"Resolved, That a sound currency is indispensable to national prosperity, and that to that end the nation must make its promises to pay equal to gold, which is the recognized standard value in the whole civilized world; that it is the duty of Congress to adopt such measures as should safely and speedily lead to the equalization of values, and that no inflation of the currency by adding to the Government issues should be permitted.

"Resolved, That Massachusetts has

seen with abhorrence the attempt, through banded leagues to deprive whole classes of our population of their constitutional prerogative; and as the amplest protection of the individual in his civil rights and privileges is the first duty of the National Government, therefore as Republican, we affirm our unshaken faith in the equality of all citizens before the law, our gratitude to the President of the United States for his prompt interference against the effort of the usurpation over a recognized State government, and for his determined opposition toward all movements and combinations seeking to abridge the limit or restrain the rights of any portion of the American people.

"Resolved, That the Republican party of Massachusetts demands and will require of all persons holding offices, whether National, State, or municipal, an administration of government which shall conform to the highest standard of honesty, integrity, and economy, to the end that the public indebtedness may be honorably and speedily paid, and the burden of taxation lightened.

"Resolved, That the record of the Republican party of Massachusetts is a sufficient guarantee of a continued sympathy with the legislation which will promote the best interests of labor and tend to the moral and intellectual elevation of all persons engaged in industrial pursuits.

"Resolved, That in the nomination of the Hon. Thomas Talbot as Chief Magistrate of this Commonwealth, this convention expresses its appreciation of his distinguished public services, and relying upon his administrative experience, and his personal purity and sterling integrity, we feel confident of his triumphant election by our local and law-abiding citizens, and we heartily commend him and the other nominees of this convention to the suffrage of our fellow-citizens.

The resolutions were adopted, without a dissentient voice.

THE President intimates a determination to do his duty—nothing more and nothing less; and while all good citizens will deplore the necessity for the dispatch of troops into the South and the revival of prosecutions under the enforcement act, they will applaud the President's conduct in promptly meeting a danger which is admittedly beyond the control of the feeble governments of South Carolina, Alabama, and Louisiana.—*The St. Louis Republican, Democratic.*

EXECUTIVE AND DEPARTMENT NEWS.

THE EXECUTIVE.

THE CIVIL SERVICE RULES

The following order has been promulgated:

EXECUTIVE ORDER No. 4.—It appears to me, from their trial at Washington and at the city of New York, that the further extension of the civil service rules will promote the efficiency of the public service. It is ordered that such rules be and they are hereby extended to the several Federal offices at the city and in the customs district of Boston, and that the proper measures be taken for carrying this order into effect.

U. S. GRANT.

Dated August 31, 1874.

THE HUDSON BAY COMPANY AWARD—COMMISSIONER APPOINTED.

EXECUTIVE MANSION,
September 28, 1874.

By virtue of the authority vested in me by the first section of the act entitled "An act to ascertain the possessory rights of the Hudson Bay Company and other British subjects within the limits which were the subject of the award of His Majesty the Emperor of Germany, under the Treaty of Washington of May 8, 1871, and for other purposes," approved June 20, 1874, I hereby appoint Hazard Stevens, of Olympia, Washington Territory, to perform the duty required of the commissioner provided in said act.

U. S. GRANT.

APPOINTED BY THE PRESIDENT

The President made the following appointments October 2:

Wilhelm Finkler, of Wisconsin, consul at Ghent; John M. Thatcher, of Virginia, Commissioner of Patents, vice M. D. Leggett, resigned, to take effect November 1; Ellis Spear, of Maine, Assistant Commissioner of Patents, vice Thatcher, appointed Commissioner; Marcus S. Hopkins, of Virginia, Examiner-in-Chief of the Patent Office, vice Ellis Spear, appointed Assistant Commissioner.

These promotions are all made in direct accordance with the spirit of the civil service regulations, though they do not come directly under its provisions.

STATE DEPARTMENT.

PAPERS RELATING TO THE ALABAMA CLAIMS—CIRCULAR TO CLAIMANTS.

The State Department informs correspondents by circular that copies of papers on file in that Department relating to the "Alabama claims" can be furnished only to claimants or their attorneys. To obtain such copies a request from the claimant or his attorney must be filed in the Department. When the request is made by the claimant his signature must be verified before a notary public, and the letter must be accompanied by his affidavit showing that he is the only holder of the claim and that he has not assigned, transferred, or hypothecated the whole or any part thereof. In case the application is made by the attorney, he must file a power of attorney from the claimant, together with the affidavit of the latter as above provided; and the signature of the attorney, as well as that of the claimant, must be verified before a notary public.

In reply to other inquiries the Department refers correspondents for information concerning the presentation or conduct of claims before the court of commissioners to Mr. John Davis, clerk of that court. The clerk has sent to claimants blank forms of petition, and also a circular that, in accordance with law and the rules of this court, every claim for damage caused by the Alabama, Florida, and their tenders, and the Shenandoah, after her departure from Melbourne, must be filed within six months from the 22d day of July, 1874. They will be entered on the docket in the order of time in which they are received; but a claim to be so entered must be stated in a petition and verified by the affidavit of the claimant.

THE AWARD TO BRITISH CLAIMANTS.

The award to British claimants, made by the mixed commission appointed under the twelfth article of the Treaty of Washington, and dated September 25,

1873, was, by the terms of the treaty, to be paid within one year of date. At 12 o'clock September 21, Mr. Watson, the British *chargé d'affaires*, and Mr. Howard, the agent appointed by the British Government, called at the State Department by appointment, and were paid the sum of \$19,029,819 in gold, less the amount of two and a half per cent. for expenses.

TREASURY DEPARTMENT.

VIOLATIONS OF THE NATIONAL BANK ACT.

The Comptroller of Currency having ascertained that certain national banks were in the habit of drawing drafts on their correspondents in New York at sixty and ninety days' date, acceptance waived, has advised these institutions that such issues are in violation of the national bank act, and will subject the bank to a forfeiture of its charter. The Comptroller will begin proceedings, if necessary, to prevent such practices. Other national banks are in the habit of furnishing depositors with checks drawn one day after date, instead of on demand, to evade the law requiring a two-cent stamp.

INTERNAL REVENUE STAMPS.

The contract for printing internal revenue stamps for the balance of the present fiscal year has been awarded to the National, Continental, and American Bank Note Companies of New York. About \$250,000 worth of stamps will be required for the balance of the year, the amount of stamps required aggregating about \$100,000,000.

INTERNAL REVENUE RECEIPTS.

The Commissioner of Internal Revenue feels confident from every indication that unless some violent interruption or extraordinary depression should occur this year's receipts will certainly be in close proximity to \$105,000,000.

WAR DEPARTMENT.

THE INTER-OCEANIC CANAL PROJECT.

General Humphreys, Chief of Engineers, has ordered Major McFarland to Washington, for the purpose of comple-

ting the report in the late investigation made of the inter-oceanic canal routes surveyed by Captains Selfridge and Lull. The object is to have the report ready to submit to the Board of Commissioners appointed to decide upon the most practical route. The first meeting of this Board will be held in November, and they will endeavor to make their decision and report to the President in time to have it transmitted to Congress at the beginning of the session in December.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE.

REMISSION OF FINES, ETC.

The Attorney General has decided that under section 52, 93 of the revised statutes, the Secretary of the Treasury has power to remit fines, penalties, and forfeitures arising under any revenue law when the amount does not exceed \$1,000, and when there has been no summons, inquiry, and statement by a judge; and also to remit fines, penalties, and forfeitures arising under laws relating to the negotiating, recording, enrolling, or licensing of vessels when the amount does not exceed \$50.

INSTRUCTIONS FROM THE ATTORNEY GENERAL TO THE UNITED STATES MARSHALS.

The Attorney General has sent the following circular to United States marshals in the Southern States in whose districts armed bodies of men have committed or are threatening to commit acts of violence and bloodshed:

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE,
WASHINGTON, September 30, 1874.

SIR: I would suggest that at those points where United States troops are or may be stationed in your district some prudent and fearless person in whose judgment you have confidence and whom the people respect may be appointed as deputy marshal to act at once in the arrest of parties committing outrages in the vicinity, so that it may not be necessary in such cases to send for you before the troops can be used for the purpose of arresting those who are guilty of violating the laws of the United States. This, of course, will not be necessary where you are easily accessible;

but where the troops are placed at remote points, before the necessary communication as to the crime committed can be made, the offenders, as a general rule, have an opportunity to escape. You will give the deputies the necessary instructions as to procuring warrants, and I need not repeat that it is important that you should delegate this power to none but careful and responsible persons.

Very respectfully,

GEO. H. WILLIAMS,
Attorney General.

INTERIOR DEPARTMENT.

PENSION OFFICE.

The annual report of the Commissioner of Pensions will show that the maximum as to numbers on the rolls has been reached and passed. The diminution of the year will be quite marked. At the same time the sum paid for pensions will be largely increased, owing to the advance of nearly all rates by the last Congress. The decrease in the number of pensioners is owing chiefly to minor children reaching the age of sixteen. Marriages among widows are growing rapidly less each year. The addition to the various rates made at the last session have increased the disbursements to a greater extent than was expected. The addition to the pension appropriation for next year, in spite of the large reduction in numbers, will be over \$1,000,000. This year no defalcations have taken place among pension agents.

BUREAU OF EDUCATION.

The report of the Commissioner of Education is in the hands of the Congressional Printer and will be issued in a few days. It will be a volume of about 1,050 pages—about sixty pages less than last year. Congress, at its last session, provided for the issue of but 5,000 copies of the report, 2,500 of which will be distributed by the Commissioner of Education gratis to educational institutions and to persons especially interested in the work of education, and 2,500 will be printed for sale by the Congressional Printer at 10 per cent. more than the

cost of printing and binding. This will make the cost per volume about one dollar. Last year Congress ordered 20,000 copies of the report for gratuitous distribution.

PATENT OFFICE.

General M. D. Leggett, Commissioner of Patents, has tendered his resignation, to take effect the 1st of November next. He resigns to enter the practice of patent law at Cleveland, Ohio, and Washington.

General Ellis Spear has been assigned to duty for the remainder of the present month as Assistant Commissioner of Patents.

INDIAN AFFAIRS.

The President has appointed Hon. Charles G. Hammond, of Chicago, Illinois, a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners. Mr. Hammond has accepted the appointment. He is, we learn, a gentleman of high standing and integrity, and eminently fitted for the position.

THE GENERAL POST OFFICE.

PAY OF LETTER CARRIERS.

The Postmaster General has issued a circular to the postmasters of all free-delivery offices, stating, first, that the present division of such offices into classes is on the basis of population; second, that the carriers at offices of the first class shall be appointed, at not to exceed \$700 a year, on the recommendation of the local postmasters, and their pay increased \$100 at the expiration of each year's service, on the recommendation of the postmaster, till they reach \$900 a year, at which point advances of this class shall cease; third, that the carriers at offices of the second-class shall be appointed at not to exceed \$600 a year, and their pay increased \$100 yearly until it reaches \$800, when advances shall cease; fourth, that the pay of the \$600, \$700, and \$800 carriers who have been in service one year shall be increased \$100 each from October 1, 1874, excepting those carriers at the second-class offices who have reached the maxi-

mum, \$800, as fixed above; fifth, it is stated for the information of postmasters and letter-carriers that the appropriation asked for, viz: \$2,000,000, was cut down \$100,000, and hence the Department is unable to increase the pay of carriers from July 1, 1874, in accordance with previous usage.

THE INTERNATIONAL POSTAL CONVENTION—A UNIFORM RATE OF POSTAGE AGREED UPON.

Mr. Blackfan, Superintendent of Foreign Mails and United States Commissioner to the International Postal Convention at Berne, has been in constant cable communication with the Postmaster General. He has reported the greatest unanimity among the representatives of the various civilized nations. France has manifested opposition from the beginning, carrying out her traditional policy of exclusion in all which attaches to the opening of unobstructed intercommunication with foreign nations in mails, trade, and travel. Mr. Blackfan cables that all the nations except France had signed a convention agreeing upon a uniform six-cent rate of postage per half ounce for letters, prepayment compulsory, and each nation to collect and keep the postage on the letters it sends. The Postmaster General has directed the United States Commissioner to sign the convention.

RULES RELATING TO THE REMAILING OF NEWSPAPERS, ETC.

The rules relative to the remailing of newspapers are as follows: When a subscriber to a newspaper changes his residence and desires his paper forwarded to his new office transient rates of postage—one cent for each two ounces or fraction thereof—must be charged on each copy as received; it, therefore, can not be forwarded unless the party addressed supply the forwarding postmaster with stamps therefor until he can notify the publisher to change the address to the new office. If a party receives a paper from the office of publication and remails it he must pay postage on it at the rate of one cent for each

two ounces or fraction thereof. A request to return upon the wrapper of a newspaper or other matter mailed at less than letter rates of postage is not to be regarded by postmasters except they are furnished with the postage at transient rates for such purpose.

THE PREPAYMENT OF POSTAGE ON NEWSPAPERS AND PERIODICALS.

The Postmaster General will adopt the recommendations of the report made by the Third Assistant, Barbour, and A. D. Hazen, Chief of the Stamp Division, with regard to carrying out the law which goes into effect on the 1st of January, requiring prepayment of postage on newspapers and periodicals mailed from a known office of publication, addressed to regular subscribers and news agents. They believe the best plan is to affix stamps to a "memorandum of mailing," the stamps to be canceled by perforation, and that they range in value from two cents to \$60.

CONTRACT FOR STAMPED ENVELOPES AWARDED.

The Postmaster General has awarded the contract for supplying stamped envelopes and newspaper wrappers for four years from October 1, 1874, to the Plympton Manufacturing Company, of Hartford, Connecticut; W. R. Ladd, of Holyoke, Massachusetts, and Gill & Hayes, of Springfield, Massachusetts, the two lowest bidders, having withdrawn their bids by telegraph yesterday morning.

POSTMASTERS OF THE FOURTH-CLASS MAY HOLD A STATE OFFICE.

From the following rulings of the Post Office Department it appears that a person holding an office under the United States Government is not prohibited by the postal laws from serving as an assistant postmaster. There is nothing in the postal laws to prohibit a postmaster at an office of the fourth-class from holding any office, either State, county, or municipal. They are not salaried officers.

PROPOSALS FOR MAIL CONTRACTS.

Proposals will soon be asked for mail lettings over routes in the West and Southeast—seventeen States altogether; bids to be received until next February, the same to go into effect July 1, 1875.

GOVERNMENT PRINTING OFFICE.**THE CONGRESSIONAL RECORD.**

The six volumes or parts of the *Congressional Record* for last session have been printed, and good progress has been

made with the binding. The volumes contain one thousand pages each, and the index, which is now in course of preparation, will make a seventh volume of nearly equal size.

THE SUPREME COURT.

The United States Supreme Court met on Monday, October 12. The docket is now two years behind, and the business for the coming term will be necessarily great.

CARPET-BAG AND DEMOCRATIC TAXATION COMPARED.

The annexed extract from the address of the Republican Convention held in Little Rock, Arkansas, September 15th and 16th, contrasts in an instructive manner the taxation under a so-called "carpet-bag" and that under a Democratic administration:

Having briefly alluded to the reasons which have influenced us to not embarrass the cases now before Congress by participating in the election, and having described the class of men and the animus of those who occupy prominent places in the present rebellion, we are impelled not only by a sense of duty, but in justice to the Republican party, to refute some charges made against it by our opponents. It is charged that the Republican party is the author of high taxes in this State, and that its administration is marked with more lavish and reckless expenditure of the public money than that of any which preceded it or followed it.. To the end that the people may see how little truth there is in this charge we have taken the trouble to ascertain the amount of taxes levied during the two years preceding the advent of the Republican party to power. The tax for general revenue purposes for the years 1866 and 1867 was as follows:

| | |
|-----------|--------------|
| 1866..... | \$500,791 66 |
| 1867..... | 278,089 80 |

Total..... 778,881 46

| | |
|-----------|--------------|
| 1868..... | \$341,979 37 |
| 1869..... | 349,649 96 |

Total..... 691,629 33

From the above statement, it will be seen that during the first two years the Republican party were in charge of the

State government it levied \$87,252 13 less tax for general revenue purposes than the Democratic administration did that preceded it. When it is taken into consideration that, under the two years of Republican rule alluded to, a deaf-mute institution and a blind asylum were built, and the expense of supporting and maintaining the same paid out of the general revenue fund, and that \$160,000 of the same fund was used to subdue a Ku Klux rebellion, it may well be doubted whether our opponents make anything by the comparison.

During the administration of Governor Clayton, State scrip never went below eighty cents and at times was par.

Under the administration of Elisha Baxter, the man who has won the admiration of the "White League" for the efficient manner in which he has conducted the finances of the State and the State government, State scrip never rose higher than sixty cents, and has fallen as low as twenty-five cents, where it stands to-day. These facts are only mentioned in passing, that the public may judge for themselves which of the two administrations had the confidence of the people.

Having compared two years of Republican rule with two years of Democratic rule, and finding the balance in our favor, let us make a comparison with that of Elisha Baxter. We have already seen that the general revenue tax for the years 1868-9 amounted in the aggregate to \$691,629 33. Under the "economical administration" of Elisha Baxter, the general revenue tax for the years 1873-4 is as follows:

| | |
|-----------|----------------|
| 1873..... | \$1,024,987 93 |
| 1874..... | 717,491 55 |

Total..... 1,742,479 48

By deducting \$691,629 33, levied for general revenue purposes under the first two years of Governor Clayton's administration, from \$1,742,479 48, the amount levied for the same purpose under the administration of Elisha Baxter, we find that *one million, fifty thousand, eight hundred and fifty dollars and fifteen cents* more tax was levied for general revenue purposes on "an oppressed and carpet-bag ridden people," without a murmur, by Elisha Baxter, than was in the same length of time under Republican rule.

But our opponents may say this is not a fair test; that the amount of taxes levied in any one year, or series of years, does not show the actual expense of the government. This is true. Elisha Baxter has been in office not quite twenty-one months, and during the first eighteen months of that time warrants have been drawn, payable from the general revenue fund to the amount of \$2,211,400 21.

During a period of twenty-seven months, under the administration of Governor Clayton, which is characterized by your opponents as being "the sum of all corruption and villainies," warrants were drawn on the general revenue fund for the sum of \$1,422,360 71.

This amount deducted from the amount expended under the administration of Elisha Baxter, (\$2,211,400 21,) shows that Elisha Baxter expended *seven hundred and eighty-nine thousand thirty-nine dollars and fifty cents more in eighteen months than Governor Clayton did in twenty-seven months.*

Under the Republican administration of Governors Clayton and Hadley the interest on the public debt was promptly paid. Under the administration of Elisha Baxter not one cent of interest has been paid. Yet Elisha Baxter, by the commission of acts that we can not forbear characterizing as crimes has so commended himself to the Democratic party that it twice nominated him as its standard-bearer in preference to a member of its own party.

Whether he declined the nomination for Governor for so many dollars and cents, as some allege, or under a promise that he should be sent to the United States Senate two years hence, can not change the indorsement given him by the White-League Democratic-Conservative party. That party has indorsed his every crime, and it now proposes to reap the fruits of his iniquity.

Whether it will be enabled to do so depends entirely on the fact whether or not the Congress of the United States, in violation of all law and precedent,

is really anxious to turn the State of Arkansas over to the very men it wrested it from in 1868.

Yet in the face of this showing, the Democratic State Convention recently assembled at Little Rock nominated Baxter for Governor; and, upon his declining the nomination, renominated him by acclamation. Thus ends the fearful howl about high taxation under the Clayton administration, in which the gentle White Leaguers of Arkansas have so long been indulging. Their administration with no schools, no railroads, no benevolent institutions, exceeds in expensiveness the Republican administration by over one million of dollars, and depreciates State paper about fifty per centum. It pays no interest and repudiates the principal.

PARTY UNITY.—Party divisions should be carefully avoided. Whenever they occur and are persisted in they generally result in the defeat of both branches of the division, and the opposition become the victors. It is difficult sometimes to decide between rival favorites, but a difference of sentiment should never be allowed to cause a disruption in the party organization. The principles of the Republican party are patriotic and paramount to personal ambition.

In the main the Republican nominating conventions in the different States held within the past few weeks or months have been harmonious. There have, however, been a few exceptions, but even these cases of a division in the choice of candidates have in most instances been amicably adjusted. A case occurred in the first Congressional district in Florida which resulted in a party split and in the nomination of two candidates; but after reflection and the exercise of a better judgment, the committees representing the two factions agreed to call another convention, which met in harmony and united upon a single candidate, the other nominee first handing back the nomination which had been conferred

upon him, and withdrawing his name absolutely, but with excellent feeling, as a candidate for renomination. This was patriotic manliness, and it placed the convention under obligations to recognize the act, which it did in a proper spirit in the following resolution, unanimously adopted :

"Resolved, That this convention, appreciating the generous self-sacrifice of Hon. R. Meacham in withdrawing from the canvass, in order to secure unity and harmony in the ranks of his party, merits the warmest gratitude of every Republican in this district and throughout the State, and the thanks of this convention are hereby tendered to him."

The Hon. Wm. J. Purman, the present Representative from that district, became then the unanimous choice of the convention, and he will be re-elected without difficulty. Had the factions persisted they would both have been defeated by the opposition.

We commend this action as worthy of imitation in similar cases, and if followed it can not fail being productive of the very best results.

The general welfare of the country must always be held as paramount, and personal ambition should yield cheerfully to the claims of patriotism and the public weal.

THE PROMISED REFORM.

Since Democracy lost the control of the Government it has been clamoring for reform. The most satisfactory Administration the nation ever had fails to satisfy it. Everything in the shape of governmental affairs needs reformation, and every time Democracy is the only party pure enough to bring it about. The thief, when pursued by the officers of the law, will oftentimes direct public attention from his own efforts to escape by crying at the top of his voice, "stop thief! stop thief!" So, Democracy, driven from its fields of plunder and closely pursued by the moral sentiment of the country, endeavors to divert the righteous punishment which is being inflicted upon it to an innocent party by crying out "reform! reform! we must have reform!"

It has deceived a few people and been successful in some sections. Texas fell a victim to its seductive clamor, and today is paying dearly for Democratic reform. Its excellent school system has been reformed out of existence, and its children, both white and black, will grow up in ignorance unless true reformation is brought about in Democratic policy, or by the return to power of the Republican party. Its Supreme Court, composed of good men with loyal

sentiments, has been so reformed that none of its loyal material is left, and in its place we find the old State judges under Confederate rule. The same reform has been practiced in every office under State control, so that at the present time a loyal man, in the true sense of the term, is about as hard to find holding a local office in Texas as a ray of sunshine in the midst of night. Instead of offices being reduced in numbers they have been multiplied, and the reform that was to save money to the State will cost it at least a third more than the administration which it supplanted. The elective franchise has been so purified by the Texas party of reform that but few Republicans in the rural districts dare appear at the polls, and reform proscription has been so thoroughly practiced that in a few years a Republican voter in Texas will be as rare a curiosity as an abolitionist was in South Carolina before the war. A like reform has taken possession of Georgia, North Carolina, Virginia, and other Southern States. Bad as some of the carpet-bag governments were thought to be the substitution in their place of Democratic reform has made matters worse, and we are not surprised that the better class of Democrats who were led to believe in

the promised reforms have already revolted against them and to-day are crying for deliverance from their friends. The broken promises of Democracy in Virginia are well set forth in the Parkersburg *State Journal* an ably conducted paper in that State. The article is entitled "Democratic Promises Violated," and is so truthful a picture of like violations in every State where Democracy has gained power that we reproduce it here: "We were promised," says the *Journal*—

That the convention and legislation growing out of it would cost but \$30,000—they have already cost over \$180,000.

That the sessions of the Legislature should be biennial—they have been so far semi-annual.

That there should be greater economy in the administration of State affairs—the cost in every department of the public State service has largely increased.

That a Legislature should be chosen that would guard the State Treasury—the most notable act of that body was to appropriate \$10,000 of the people's money for a "Christmas spree."

That party would punish every dishonest public officer—it has shielded a peculator, convicted by a committee of his own selection, of overcharges to the amount of thousands of dollars.

That it would give us a constitution shorter, better, and plainer than the old one—it has given us one that is twice as long as the old one, and so complicated that neither the public nor the makers of the instrument can understand it.

That it would diminish the number of officers—it has largely increased them.

That is would diminish the number of judges—it has multiplied the number.

That it would diminish the number of members for the Legislature—it has increased them.

That it would give us a cheaper county organization—it has given us a more expensive one.

That it would lower the salaries of public officers—it has in every case increased them.

It promised the people local government—it destroyed nearly all we ever had, and gave the resurrected county court system in its stead.

It destroyed the trial by juries before justices, in order to concentrate business and power in the hands of court-house cliques.

It promised a reduction in taxes—taxation is not diminished, but rather increased.

It promised a homestead law for the protection of the poor man—it made one to rob the poor man.

This is the party that seeks to reform the nation; that asks the people to give it a majority in the House of Representatives; that demands possession of the Government in 1876. What the history of the Republic will be under Democratic reformation can be written in a sentence: Repudiation, bankruptcy, anarchy, national disgrace. To all who seek to bring about such a reform the Democratic party commends itself. To all who desire to avoid it, who wish to maintain the credit of the nation, secure peace and prosperity within its borders, promote general intelligence by a wise system of free schools, and who earnestly hope to see the Republic take rank as the leader among the civilized and favored nations of the earth, we commend the Republican party. It has been tried and not found wanting. It has violated no promises, given no pledges which it has failed to keep. Its record is as clear as the noonday light, and the few faults which it has developed throughout its long and honorable career are but as the spots which the telescope reveals on the surface of the sun, of sufficient importance to merit inspection, but not enough to destroy the usefulness of the orb itself.

THE Democratic campaign has opened in earnest throughout the South. Tennessee led the way by the deliberate massacre of sixteen colored people at one stroke; Louisiana followed promptly by the murder of nearly an equal number; Alabama shows her zeal in the cause by stopping mail trains, killing the colored agents, and firing into church congregations of colored people; and Texas, not to be outdone in the latest struggle for "Southern rights," has accomplished six hundred political assassinations since the inauguration of the Democratic Governor, Coke. Whatever it may mean in the Northern States, in the South the spread of Democratic "principles" means organized ruffianism and wholesale slaughter.—*Pittsburg Commercial*.

BOURBON DEMOCRACY.—We are willing to believe the fellow was sober who mistook a harmless lightning bug for the head-light of a locomotive and insisted that he was cut to pieces when his neighbors helped him out of a ditch, but to ask us to believe in the honesty and loyalty of Bourbon Democracy is a trifle too tough for human credulity. We would as soon think of trusting our children to the guardianship of a hungry tiger as we would the liberties of our country to the guardianship of Democracy. Fourteen years of official dieting have not changed its character. It would, with its present ravenous appetite, if allowed the opportunity, eat the substance out of the nation in less than a year. It is so hungry for patronage that it would swallow the civil service reform in a twinkling and consume every Federal office before sundown of the day it reached Washington. Think of its condition in Ohio! Six hundred ballots over one little bone! In another convention over five hundred ballots. In another over four hundred, and so on to the end. The fact of it is, that in some localities the Democratic leaders are so hungry for office that the struggle over a town clerkship might well be mistaken for a first-class riot. As long as these hungry politicians keep their hands off national property we can overlook their local scrambles for office. We know by sad experience all about their honesty, loyalty, and ability. We have a striking example of each as practiced in some sections of the South at the present time. We insist on giving Bourbon Democracy a wide berth in the future, and protest against its return to power until the country has entirely recovered from the bad effects of its former rule. We don't care to face another rebellion until we have settled the little bills connected with the last one.

THE WAY TO WIN.—An hour's quiet talk with a lukewarm neighbor will do more to arouse him to an earnest support of the Republican party than a

dozen stump speeches. Mass-meetings impart enthusiasm to organized bodies and keep them active in the good work, but a personal canvass by the right kind of men makes converts and thus adds to the party strength. Every town should have its Republican organizations. Men of character, those who possess the entire confidence of the community, should be the leaders and workers in these organizations. Meetings should be held at least once a week from now until the election. A thorough canvass should be had of the voters in the district. The politics of every man should be known. This can be done by subdivisions small enough to enable those appointed to make a complete personal canvass. The strength of the party should be known. Every vote should be brought out at the polls. Our leaders should work from now until the close of the ballot-box as if the success of the party depended on just one vote. This is the way to win great victories. To remain inactive, presuming on the popularity of the ticket or the former strength of the party is to invite defeat. We can not have too large a majority, we may through inactivity lack one vote of a triumph. Organization, hard work, devotion to the good cause for which we labor will crown our efforts with success. The House of Representatives must be kept in loyal hands. To lose control of it is to again expose the life of the nation to the deadly assaults of its enemies. It is the key to the political position and must be held by the friends of freedom and humanity.

WE haven't heard a single Ohio Democrat express his joy over the platform of the Massachusetts Democracy.—*Cincinnati Gazette.*

THE Chicago *Evening Journal* says that the Republican party of Illinois has a safe majority, on a full vote, of 50,000. Concerning the Grangers it says: "There is every reason to believe that the Farmers' Movement, as a political affair, is rapidly losing ground, and has been from the outset of the pending campaign."

POLITICAL CALENDAR.

POLITICAL CONVENTIONS.

November 2—Election of Congressmen and State officers in Louisiana.

November 3—Election of Congressmen only in Rhode Island, Arkansas, Florida, Maryland, Minnesota, Virginia, Wisconsin, and Texas; election of both Congressmen and State officers in Massachusetts, Alabama, Delaware, Illinois, Kansas, Michigan, Missouri, New York, New Jersey, Nevada, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, and Tennessee.

REPUBLICAN NOMINEES TO CONGRESS.

Name and District. Residence.

| | |
|-----------------------------|---------------------|
| *A. ex. White..... | Dallas, Ala. |
| *C. C. Sheats..... | Winston, Ala. |
| 1. Jeremiah Haralson..... | Ala. |
| 2. Jas. T. Rapier..... | Montgomery, Ala. |
| 3. Wm. H. Betts..... | —, Ala. |
| 4. Charles Hays..... | Haysville, Ala. |
| 6. E. F. Jennings..... | Lawrence, Ala. |
| 1. Wm. J. Purman..... | Tallahassee, Fla. |
| 2. J. T. Walls..... | Gainesville, Fla. |
| 4. Stephen A. Huribut..... | Billeviere, Ill. |
| 5. H. C. Burchard..... | Freeport, Ill. |
| 6. Thomas Henderson..... | —, Ill. |
| 7. Franklin Corwin..... | Peru, Ill. |
| 8. G. L. Fort..... | Lacon, Ill. |
| 9. R. H. Whiting..... | Peoria, Ill. |
| 10. Henderson Ritchie..... | —, Ill. |
| 11. David E. Beatty..... | Jerseyville, Ill. |
| 12. Andrew Simpson..... | Taylorville, Ill. |
| 13. James McNulta..... | Bloomington, Ill. |
| 14. J. G. Cannon..... | Tuscola, Ill. |
| 15. J. W. Wilkin..... | Marshall, Ill. |
| 16. J. S. Martin..... | Salem, Ill. |
| 17. Jno. J. Rinaker..... | —, Ill. |
| 18. Isaac Clements..... | Carbondale, Ill. |
| 19. Green B. Raum..... | Harrisburg, Ill. |
| 1. Wm. A. Phillips..... | Salina, Kan. |
| 2. Stephen A. Cobb..... | Wyandotte, Kan. |
| 3. W. R. Brown..... | Hutchinson, Kan. |
| 1. T. J. Pickett..... | Paducah, Ky. |
| 10. John Means..... | Kan. |
| 1. J. H. Sypher..... | New Orleans, La. |
| 2. Henry Dibble..... | New Orleans, La. |
| 3. C. B. Darrell..... | Brashear, La. |
| 4. G. L. Smith..... | Shreveport, La. |
| 5. Frank Morey..... | Monroe, La. |
| 6. C. S. Nash..... | St. Landry, La. |
| 1. John P. Burleigh..... | South Berwick, Me. |
| 2. Wm. P. Frye..... | Lewiston, Me. |
| 3. James G. Blaine..... | Augusta, Me. |
| 4. Samuel F. Hersey..... | Bangor, Me. |
| 5. Eugene Hale..... | Ellsworth, Me. |
| 1. H. H. Goldsborough..... | Easton, Md. |
| 6. Lloyd Lonndes..... | Cumberland, Md. |
| 4. Rufus S. Frost..... | Chelsea, Mass. |
| 9. George F. Hoar..... | Worcester, Mass. |
| 1. Moses W. Field..... | Detroit, Mich. |
| 2. Henry Waldron..... | Hillsdale, Mich. |
| 3. George Willard..... | Battle Creek, Mich. |
| 4. J. C. Burrows..... | Kalamazoo, Mich. |
| 5. William B. Williams..... | Allegan, Mich. |
| 6. Josiah W. Begole..... | Flint, Mich. |
| 7. Omar D. Conger..... | Port Huron, Mich. |
| 8. Nathan B. Bradley..... | Bay City, Mich. |
| 9. Jay A. Hubbell..... | Houghton, Mich. |
| 1. Mark H. Dunnel..... | Owatonna, Minn. |
| 2. H. B. Strait..... | Shakopee, Minn. |
| 3. Wm. S. King..... | —, Minn. |
| 1. E. O. Standard..... | Mo. |
| 2. D. D. Fisher..... | Mo. |
| 3. R. E. Wingate..... | Mo. |
| 6. C. W. Thrasher..... | Mo. |
| 1. Clem. H. Sinnickson..... | Salem, N. J. |
| 2. Samuel A. Dobbins..... | —, N. J. |
| 3. Amos Clark Jr..... | Elizabeth, N. J. |
| 4. Charles Place..... | —, N. J. |
| 5. William W. Phelps..... | Englewood, N. J. |
| 6. Marcus L. Ward..... | Newark, N. J. |
| 17. Martin J. Townsend..... | —, N. Y. |
| 18. Andrew Williams..... | Plattsburgh, N. Y. |

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| 19. Wm. A. Wheeler..... | N. Y. |
| 20. H. H. Hathorn..... | Saratoga, N. Y. |
| 22. Geo. A. Bagley..... | Watertown, N. Y. |
| 23. Ellis H. Roberts..... | Utica, N. Y. |
| 24. William H. Baker..... | —, N. Y. |
| 25. E. W. Leavenworth..... | —, N. Y. |
| 26. C. D. MacDougall..... | Auburn, N. Y. |
| 27. E. G. Sapham..... | —, N. Y. |
| 28. T. C. Platt..... | Owego, N. Y. |
| 29. Harlow Hakes..... | Hornellsville, N. Y. |
| 30. Geo. G. Haskins..... | Attica, N. Y. |
| 31. Lyman K. Bass..... | Buffalo, N. Y. |
| 32. Walter L. Sessions..... | Panama, N. Y. |
| L. Crounse..... | Fort Calhoun, Neb. |
| 1. John K. Green..... | —, Ohio. |
| 2. J. E. Stevenson..... | —, Ohio. |
| 3. Jno. Q. Smith..... | Oakland, Ohio. |
| 4. Lewis B. Gunckel..... | Dayton, Ohio. |
| 5. Reynolds M. Little..... | —, Ohio. |
| 6. A. M. Pratt..... | Williams county, Ohio. |
| 7. T. W. Gordon..... | —, Ohio. |
| 8. William Lawrence..... | Bellefontaine, Ohio. |
| 9. J. W. Robinson..... | Marysville, Ohio. |
| 10. Charles Foster..... | Fostoria, Ohio. |
| 11. H. S. Bundy..... | Reed's Mill, Ohio. |
| 12. David Taylor, Jr..... | Columbus, Ohio. |
| 13. Jno. H. Barnhill..... | —, Ohio. |
| 14. Wm. W. Armstrong..... | —, Ohio. |
| 15. N. H. Van Voehees..... | Athens, Ohio. |
| 16. Lorenzo Danforth..... | St. Clairsville, Ohio. |
| 17. L. D. Woodworth..... | Youngstown, Ohio. |
| 18. James Monroe..... | Oberlin, Ohio. |
| 19. J. A. Garfield..... | Hiram, Ohio. |
| 20. R. C. Parsons..... | Cleveland, Ohio. |
| 1. Chapman Freeman..... | Philadelphia, Pa. |
| 2. Charles O'Neill..... | Philadelphia, Pa. |
| 3. David L. Houston..... | Philadelphia, Pa. |
| 4. William D. Kelley..... | Philadelphia, Pa. |
| 5. Alfred C. Harmer..... | Germantown, Pa. |
| 6. Wm. Ward..... | Chester City, Pa. |
| 7. Alan Wood, Jr..... | Cochesken, Pa. |
| 8. Chas. B. McKnight..... | Reading, Pa. |
| 9. A. Herr Smith..... | Lancaster, Pa. |
| 12. W. W. Ketcham..... | Wilkesbarre, Pa. |
| 13. Theo. Garrettson..... | Pottsville, Pa. |
| 14. John B. Packer..... | Sunbury, Pa. |
| 15. Bartholdi, a porto..... | —, Pa. |
| 16. Sobieski Ross..... | Coudersport, Pa. |
| 19. Hiriam S. McNair..... | York, Pa. |
| 20. Langhorne Wister..... | Duncanson, Pa. |
| 21. Andrew Stewart, Jr..... | Uniontown, Pa. |
| 22. James S. Negley..... | Pittsburg, Pa. |
| 23. Thomas M. Bayne..... | Pittsburg, Pa. |
| 25. Harry White..... | Indiana, Pa. |
| 27. C. B. Curtis..... | Erie, Pa. |
| 1. Hod'k K. Butler..... | Taylorville, Tenn. |
| 3. L. C. Honk..... | —, Tenn. |
| 5. H. H. Harrison..... | Nashville, Tenn. |
| 9. Barbour Lewis..... | Memphis, Tenn. |
| 1. Wm. Chambers..... | —, Texas. |
| 2. F. W. Sumner..... | —, Texas. |
| 4. John Hancock..... | Austin, Texas. |
| *R. Q. Mills..... | Corsicana, Texas. |
| 1. J. B. Sener..... | Fredricksburg, Va. |
| 2. J. H. Platt..... | Norfolk, Va. |
| 3. Rush Burgess..... | Richmond, Va. |
| 4. W. H. H. Stowell..... | Burkeville, Va. |
| 5. C. T. Thomas..... | Henry C. H., Va. |
| 6. Geo. W. Henderlite..... | —, Va. |
| 1. C. H. Joyce..... | Rutland, Vt. |
| 2. L. P. Poland..... | Saint Johnsbury, Vt. |
| 3. George W. Hendee..... | Morristown, Vt. |
| 1. Charles G. Williams..... | Janesville, Wis. |
| 2. Lucien B. Caswell..... | Fort Atkinson, Wis. |
| 3. Henry S. Magoon..... | —, Wis. |
| 6. Alanson M. Kimball..... | —, Wis. |
| 7. J. M. Rusk..... | Viroqua, Wis. |
| 8. Alex S. McDill..... | Plover, Wis. |
| 9. H. P. H. Bromwell..... | Denver, Col. Ter. |
| 10. J. P. Kidder..... | Vermillion, Da. Ter. |
| 11. Cornelius Hedges..... | Montana Ter. |
| 12. J. M. Carey..... | Wyoming Ter. |

*State at large.